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THE GRIT PARTY AND THE GREAT REFORM CONVENTION OF 1859

ON November 9, 1859, there descended upon Toronto some six hundred delegates elected in all parts of Upper Canada to attend the great convention of the Reform party. It was a political avalanche of outraged virtue, unique in the annals not only of the province but of British North America.¹ No common occasion had called these stalwarts together. The union of the provinces so long a cause of heart-burning in the Grit breast had at last become intolerable and something decisive must be done. How sorry was the plight of the upper province lying a helpless victim at the mercy of a "dishonest ministry" which maintained itself in office only by the "cohesive power of public plunder"! "Were human ingenuity", the *Toronto Globe* declared, "exercised to the utmost to discover a political machine by which one section—and that section Lower Canada—should inflict the greatest possible amount of insult, injury, and costly injustice upon its partner in the business of legislation, no better contrivance than the union could be devised."

Even Upper Canadians had lent themselves to the oppression: "There is no creature more despicable than the Western Canadian who at this moment aids the hierarchy and dominant clique of Lower Canada to fasten upon our necks the French yoke—Scotland hated her Balliol, the name of Benedict Arnold still awakens the indignation of the Americans—we know of no reason why the Macdonalds and Vankoughnets should be regarded with less detestation by the people of Upper Canada." The wrath of every liberty-loving Grit boiled over at the thought of Upper Canada's woes. Her pockets had been rifled to pay for the

¹The convention of the British American League was notable, but the League was scarcely a political party. The meeting of Liberals in Toronto in 1857 brought over one hundred delegates but was not comparable to the convention of 1859.

extravagance of her conscienceless sister. The public debt had been increased from \$29,000,000 in 1854 to \$58,500,000 in 1859. The Grand Trunk, every honest man felt in his bones, had thriven on speculation. The tariff of Galt had been raised against the agrarian west. The wreckage of many laws demanded by Upper Canada's majority lay strewn in the path of the coalition. Finally, when the battalions of civic righteousness, in the form of the Brown-Dorion ministry, had for a moment occupied the citadel of power, they had been expelled "in the most disgraceful manner" by the unconstitutional connivance, so the Grits felt, of the governor himself. The very foundations of responsible government seemed to be shaken. "One event after another has occurred", wrote the *Globe*, "calculated to impair confidence in the excellence of what by courtesy has been called Responsible Government." Such was the temper in which the delegates of Upper Canada's embattled democracy gathered to the great convention of 1859. They were resolved to fire a shot that should be heard as far as Montreal at least.

For readers of a later day the meeting has several points of interest, a full discussion of which is beyond the scope of this paper. The report of its proceedings, filling over thirty columns of solid small type in the six issues of the *Globe* beginning with November 10, is a complete account of what may perhaps be considered the first great party convention in Canadian history. The names and addresses of some 520 delegates are printed in the issue of November 10—an invaluable roster of the Grit stalwarts of Upper Canada. Verbatim reports are given of the pronouncements of "back-benchers" as well as of party leaders. The debate brought forth every shade of Liberal opinion on the economic and political condition of the province, on federation and the relations with Britain and the United States, and it reveals an important sectional division in the province based on geographical and commercial considerations.

Whatever the signs of unanimity in the Grit camp, the truth was that in the spring and summer of 1859 the party faced the stark possibility of disruption. The fiasco of the Brown-Dorion ministry had been most unfortunate. To many of Brown's followers it seemed that the reform coalition had rushed into office with unseemly haste and without any guarantee that it would obtain the constitutional reforms to which the Grit party was pledged. The result had been a humiliation, to which even the governor had been a party in the name of responsible government.

Among the rank and file, confidence in the leadership of Brown and his colleagues in the legislature had been rudely shaken. After such a lesson should not the French alliance be abandoned? Should not the party rebuke any short-sighted lust for office, and commit itself again with unswerving devotion to the cause of constitutional reform—perhaps even to the dissolution of the union of the two provinces?

Such questionings as to the future of the party were, as it happened, brought acutely to the fore by incidents which marked the end of the legislative session in the spring of 1859. On April 29, the legislative council refused to vote supplies on the ground that money to move the capital to Quebec had not been put in the estimates, and that the government, having decided to move there anyway, had omitted the item with the intention of incurring the expense even though it had not been voted. The defeat of the government was, of course, hailed by the Grits with delight as virtually a vote of want of confidence. They argued that the move to Quebec would be useless extravagance in view of the intention to place the capital permanently at Ottawa as soon as buildings were provided. The Lower-Canadian reformers were, on the other hand, in favour of the move to Quebec, and some of them also felt resentment specially against Brown because of his strongly expressed views on religious and other questions.

You no doubt are aware of the transactions in the houses of parliament during the last two days. We are in a very unsettled state also as a party and it is difficult to tell what may become of us. There can be no doubt I think that the French opposition have seceded from Brown and will not longer act with the reform party if under his leadership. And the party otherwise is divided and there are a considerable number beginning to agitate a dissolution of the Union—while others talk of a federation of the two Canadas.²

So wrote a Grit member two days after the vote in the council. John A. Macdonald, he reported, had declared in private that the government would move later to Ottawa, but was determined to go to Quebec that summer "coute que coute".

The triumph over the government was short-lived. On May 3, the legislative council upheld the bill voting supplies,³ and the

²Ontario Archives, *Clarke papers*: James Ross to Col. Charles Clarke of Elora, May 1, 1859. I am indebted to Dr. J. J. Talman and Mr. W. D. Reid, a member of his staff, for very valuable assistance.

³The vote was 24 to 20 and the opposition claimed that the government to win over its small majority had used desperate means in bringing back absentees and influencing waverers. Only two members from Upper Canada spoke in defence of the government.

Grits were left with little but a chance to renew their argument on responsible government. Of that they made the most. The *Globe* declared (May 4) that the government would never have adopted such a course had it not been abetted by the governor-general whose unscrupulous use of his influence reduced responsible government to "the dimensions of a farce"; the episode "has made fully manifest all the evils of the system . . . under which we groan—all the tyranny to which we are subjected by an alien race". This blast was the beginning of a long series of thundering editorials in which every phase of the constitutional problem was explored.

The best policy to adopt was, however, by no means clear and there was a good deal of latent discontent within the party. How widespread it was is difficult to determine, but if it became a real insurgent movement it had possibilities of the most serious character not only for the party but for the relations of the two provinces. Perhaps the central figure in it was George Sheppard, at this time an editorial writer on the *Globe* itself. Sheppard was an Englishman of radical views who already in his thirty-nine years had had an amazingly varied career.⁴ He had read much on the history and constitution of the United States and his natural inclinations encouraged him in an enthusiastic admiration of American life and political institutions. He was firmly convinced by 1859 that the Grit party must commit itself whole-heartedly to the cause of constitutional reform even though this meant the damning of its prospects for office. He was the writer of many, perhaps most, of the long and very able series of editorials in the *Globe*, which during the spring and summer of 1859 urged the paramount importance of the constitutional question. They undoubtedly made a profound impression on Grit views. That an insistence on constitutional changes would almost certainly alienate the party's French-Canadian allies and might eventually split the union of the provinces, he and those in his confidence were well aware, but it was a risk that they were willing to take and indeed welcomed.⁵ A confidential letter written on July 5 by Sheppard to his close political friend Colonel Charles Clarke makes

⁴He had been an editor in England, the promoter of an emigrant society to Iowa, an editor of the *Daily republic* in Washington, an actuary in the Canada Life Assurance Company, and an editor on the *Daily colonist*. A journalist of brilliant abilities, he was from 1863 to 1880 editor of the *New York times*, and died in 1912 at the ripe old age of ninety-two near Boston. See Henry J. Morgan, *Sketches of celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, 1862); *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (Ottawa, 1867); J. Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Canada* (Toronto, 1917).

⁵A petition for the dissolution of the union had been presented to the legislature from the County of Peterborough on April 25.

this clear, and reveals the astonishing fact that in his constitutional articles Sheppard had actually committed the *Globe* to a more extreme policy than Brown desired:

The movement of the *Globe* for organic changes is one for which I shall have to bear the responsibility. Brown and I had conversed on the failure of the present system, but he was not at all prepared for the distinct committals that have been made, *and is still afraid to own them*. Some of them I know that he has privately disowned, and I shall not be surprised to find the disclaimer repeated publicly. The truth is, that the Brown-Dorion government was a misfortune to its members, not soon to be got over. It has left an impression on their minds that they are to be the next ministers; and expecting everlastingly to be "sent for", they shirk what seems likely to stand in the path to office. So far as I can judge, Brown cares less than most of those who were his colleagues; but he cares for it also a great deal too much. . . . I am coming to the conclusion, that the present leaders of the Opposition will not press for the changes which you and I believe to be essential; and they will not do so, because they are eager for office, and will jump at it on almost any terms. This conclusion has not been hastily arrived at; and to me it is both mortifying and embarrassing. . . . Take him [Brown] on to the ground of abuses, financial blunders and wrongs, sectionalism, and so forth; and he is the strongest public man in Canada. . . . But off this ground he is an ordinary man. He has never studied political principles, and knows nothing of constitutional questions, save such as have arisen from time to time in Canada. He is a vigorous colonial politician—no less and certainly no more.

With such divisions of opinion in the party it was evident that to unite the wavering elements behind some practicable compromise would demand all the tact and *finesse* that adroit leadership could offer.

George Brown has usually been thought of as a brilliant and determined fighter, fearless in the defence of his principles and aims but too uncompromising, perhaps even a little too much the doctrinaire, to be the ideal political leader. This long-accepted view would need, it seems to me, considerable modification even if we went no farther than the record of 1859. If we had Brown's private papers, which apparently have not been preserved to posterity, it might be shown that he was not so inferior as has been supposed to the master tactician John A. himself. But even as it is there is no little evidence of his skill. He it was, no doubt, who quietly diverted the *Globe* in the summer of 1859 from Sheppard's emphasis on controversial constitutional questions to the discussion of some workable federal arrangement between the two provinces. No doubt, too, he was a central figure in the anxious

preparations behind the scenes which were calculated to ensure that the convention made the right decisions. It was a colleague on the *Globe* staff, William MacDougall, who in the closing hours of the convention brought forward the amended resolution providing a common ground of compromise for all delegates. It was Brown's speech at the end which swept the crowded hall into a storm of enthusiastic and unanimous approval. And finally, in the weeks following the convention, he insisted on excluding from the *Globe* every topic which might again arouse contention in the ranks—an insistence which speedily forced Sheppard's resignation from the editorial staff.

With the true statesman's—or, if you wish, politician's—instinct he saw that time might provide a solution of problems if only the Reform party could be held together. And what were the problems? Were they merely a question of constitutional guarantees or of a mounting provincial debt, serious as that might be, or of the raids of private members on the pork barrel? In the light of later history these dwindle into insignificance as compared with the future of the North-west, continuance of some kind of working arrangement with Lower Canada, and the possibility of a wider federation. The destiny of British North America was to hang in the balance in the next few years—no man of foresight could escape that conviction even though he could not see a way through. The stake was high—nothing less than half a continent, but if the union of the provinces was dissolved, if the Grit party turned its eyes inward to fight the battle of constitutional reform merely within the bounds of Upper Canada, everything might be lost. The unity of the party on some basis of co-operation with Lower Canada was the one essential of the moment to be preserved at all costs. To imagine that Brown saw nothing of this is to do him an impossible injustice and indeed the whole record of these months makes it clear that this was his guiding principle.

The task was not an easy one. The party had committed itself to the cause of constitutional reform in the convention of 1857. Brown believed in representation by population as much as anyone⁶ but he saw that it was not enough. And yet how could the rank and file be now persuaded to adopt a new policy or even a change in emphasis? Constitutional reform must not be denied, but under the leadership of men like Sheppard it might get out of hand and sweep the party into a bitter mood of uncompromising

⁶Dorion had agreed in forming their ministry in 1858 to explore its possibilities.

obstinacy. In the circumstances it appeared advisable to divert attention from constitutional argument and to commit the party if possible to the practical policy of some kind of federal arrangement with the sister province. While not abandoning constitutional discussion, the *Globe* took up with characteristic persistence, the question of a new arrangement with Lower Canada,⁷ and through the summer of 1859 it urged the case for a general government as simple, inexpensive, and limited in powers as possible, with the possible division of the two provinces into several districts so that local governments might be economical and closely supervised by a vigilant democracy. Most of the Grit papers followed the *Globe's* lead, but there was still much support of the demand for "organic changes" as advocated in Sheppard's articles, while a few papers favoured dissolution of the union "pure and simple".⁸

The formal decision to call a convention was made at a meeting of the Grit members of legislature held in the Rossin House, Toronto, on September 23, and was hailed with almost unanimous enthusiasm by the Grit press as the "precursor of a great deliverance".⁹ From the ministerial press it got for the most part denunciation or ridicule. The Grit proposals were little better than "an infamous step on the road to rebellion"; the monarchical form of government was imperilled by the demand for a written constitution and democratic checks after the model of the United States; "by dissolving the Union, Upper Canada from want of a sea port would become impoverished and would be forced into the arms of the United States", warned the *Kingston Whig*; and the *Colonist* of Toronto in an exalted moment even averred that the movement for constitutional reform "must, if successful, loosen all the bonds of society amongst us".

The *Globe* pounced upon these evil allegations with its customary gleeful ferocity, and especially upon the suggestion of disloyalty. "Is it more monarchical to tolerate swindling and extravagance than to secure economy and honesty? More loyal, oh sapient lickspittle! [this to the *Colonist*] to enable ministers to

⁷The idea was not new. In a letter to Holton, Brown showed that he had an open mind on it as early as January, 1858 (John Lewis, *George Brown*, Toronto, 1906). With its arguments the *Globe* associated its campaign to arouse interest in the North-west, the incorporation of which under the British flag seemed possible only through a federal arrangement.

⁸The large number of Grit newspapers was one of the most important explanations of the party's strength. The circular calling together the meeting of 1859 was signed by sixty-two of whom forty-three represented newspapers.

⁹Only the *Prescott Telegraph* and the *Cornwall Freeholder* were opposed—both significantly in the eastern end of the province where the movement for dissolution was unanimously opposed.

manage parliament, than to render that body independent, and to compel ministers to mind their departmental business?" "Mr. Cartier the rebel of 1837, Mr. Galt and Mr. Rose the annexationists of 1849 howl out rebel and revolution against . . . the men in the Reform party who never entertained a disloyal thought."

Doubtless the public enjoyed these fireworks of vituperation but behind the scenes in the Grit camp there was hard debate of which the public caught no inkling. On the day following the Rossin House meeting Sheppard wrote to his friend Clarke that there must be "consultation and co-operation amongst those of us who want free play rather than cut-and-dry proceedings", and in a letter a month later he gives a vivid description of the sharp differences of opinion in the party headquarters:¹⁰

I may say that Brown and even McDougall would like to restrict both talk and action within limits framed by the little committee here—burking discussion on such delicate points as elective governor, paring the written constitution doctrine to the finest possible point. . . . Then touching the platform—the pine speaking stand, I mean. The "cooking" gentlemen wish to cover the stand with certain great men of their own choosing. I have maintained that in a convention there should be equality. . . . There is a general disposition to make the resolutions vague and harmless, and to do this it is hoped that the committee will be manageable. . . . If the affair is to be saved from contempt, the whole constitutional question will have to be debated broadly and fearlessly. . . . And upon the delegates from the country the doing of this will in my opinion depend. You should prepare yourself for tough work. . . . Personally, I have no thought of taking any part in the affair. Notoriously pro-American, it is best that I should stand aloof.

So the great day arrived and delegates poured in from all directions. Of some 520 who registered 216 came from the western section, 57 from the Niagara peninsula, 178 from York and other central counties, 40 from the "Midland" section—Peterborough to Kingston—, and only 21 from farther east (the residence of 8 is not clear). Especially significant was the number from the western section where the more radical demands for dissolution and constitutional reform had gained greatest strength.

Proceedings opened with the appointment of committees of which that on resolutions¹¹ was the most important and the gather-

¹⁰*Clarke papers*: Letters of Sept. 24 and Oct. 27.

¹¹The committee on resolutions was apparently heavily weighted against radical proposals and in favour of the federal scheme. In addition to Brown, Mowat, and other leaders, its twenty-nine included eight from east of Toronto where feeling against dissolution of the union was overwhelming. William Lyon Mackenzie was a member and may have been its one dissident. He was strong for dissolution, but refused to take part in the debate as he said he represented no one but himself. Sheppard was on the committee on procedure.

ing adjourned to await its report. The six resolutions presented at the evening session were cleverly worded,—calculated to placate the left wing on constitutional reform but at the same time to convert the assembly to the federal scheme. The substance of them was: that the union "in its present form can no longer be continued with advantage to the people"; that the "double majority" principle while necessary under the union could be "no permanent remedy for existing evils"; "that strict constitutional restraints on the power of the legislature and executive in regard to borrowing and expenditure of money and other matters, should form part of any satisfactory change of the existing constitutional system—yet the imposition of such restraints would not alone remedy the evils under which the country now labours"; that a federation of British North America was too remote a solution; and that the "best practicable remedy" was a general government for matters common to the two Canadas and two or more local governments for "all matters of a local or sectional character"; the details should be left for future arrangement but it was to be understood that the principle of representation by population must be included.

As was to be expected, the charge was immediately raised that a change of policy was proposed and that representation by population, formerly considered an adequate remedy, was being abandoned. The charge was vigorously denied, Mowat especially carrying weight as even the radicals had confidence in his disinterested motives. To secure representation by population, he declared, "will take a much longer time than many of us have supposed . . . it will be insanity to wait for this reform, if reform can be obtained by a shorter method". The most practicable reform, that which could be obtained at the earliest time, was, he urged, the federation of the two provinces, in which, too, the principle of representation by population would be demanded for the federal legislature.

The debate occupied the evening of the first day and the whole of the second day until 11 o'clock at night—a test of endurance during which every phase of Grit thinking was elaborated at length. One cannot but be struck by the fact that the voice of the assembly was that of an agrarian democracy. There were present many town-dwellers, but the movement was essentially of the soil. Here we listen to the farmer of Canada West voicing his suspicions of merchants, bankers, and politicians who fattened themselves at the expense of the honest toilers of the frontier.

There was a sturdy belief in the essential virtue of a free and enfranchised citizenry. Government, it was felt, should be near at hand and always under the scrutinizing eye of the sovereign people: it should be simple, inexpensive, and entrusted with as few responsibilities and powers as possible. "Give the government as little to do as possible, and that clearly defined." Here in truth was the essence of Jeffersonian philosophy springing out of the soil of Upper Canada.

The more extreme proposals of constitutional reform along American lines could by no means be ignored. The best policy for those who preferred to see them left in the background was, indeed, not to oppose them but to urge that they were a matter for later consideration and that the federal arrangement was the practical measure demanding immediate decision. Public officials must be curbed, declared a number of speakers. "We must bind them down by laws and by a written constitution", urged Mr. Donnelley of Prince Edward. The system must be changed so that honest men would not be forced to become rogues in office. George Brown himself wondered whether responsible government might be made to "work better than under the Union; but he doubted if it would be expedient, under the new constitution to adopt the principle—whether it would not be better to have men who were simply heads of departments, without seats in the Legislature".

Perhaps the most distinctively Canadian characteristic of the debate was the play and counter-play of British and American influences. Expressions of loyalty, thrown about with the greatest zeal, were invariably cheered to the echo. Only one unhappy individual—with the unfortunately appropriate name of Wilkes—made a remark which could be construed as lacking in perfect devotion to the sovereign. He referred to the occasion before the union, "when we very justly took up arms to maintain our rights", but he was immediately pounced upon by Mr. Robinson who was greeted with loud cheers when he declared himself a subject of her majesty and bound to enter his protest against such a sentiment. No doubt the imputations cast against the convention by the Tory press account in part for these fervent protestations, but even so one cannot doubt that loyalty to the British connection and to the queen had no small part in determining Grit views. And yet the nearness of Uncle Sam was even a sharper reality than the influence of the mother country. The weight of that consideration can be seen in the discussion of every proposal. Annexation was condemned on all sides, and solemn warnings were given of the possible

dire results of encouraging dangerous associations with the republican relative. "Who was there here that desired to become annexationist?", demanded Thomas Nixon of Newcastle, "Not one" (cheers). Men of opposing views could and did quote American precedents or comment on American policy. The influence of the presence of the United States on Grit thinking was continuous but it was subtle and diverse in its effects as, indeed, it has always been throughout Canadian history.

The first four resolutions and the sixth were carried with unanimity. No one defended the preservation of the union as it was, although many agreed that it had worked a great good. Nor was there any dissent from the statements of the resolutions that the "double majority", constitutional restraints on the executive, and a federation of all the provinces were not effective remedies for the immediate evils. The fifth resolution was thus left, and there as everyone knew was the real battle-ground—a federal arrangement with Lower Canada or outright dissolution. Brown and his colleagues did not under-estimate the strength of the radical sentiment. "I know", said the Hon. M. H. Foley, declaring his opposition to dissolution, "that in making that announcement I make one contrary to the wishes of many, perhaps to a majority, of this Convention." Dissolution was urged with such force and ability that the decision seemed to hang in the balance. "If there is one thing which has taken hold of the public mind in Upper Canada more than another, it is the desire for dissolution", said Mr. McLean of Blenheim township. "I know, at any rate, that it is so in North Oxford."

When Sheppard decided, contrary to his original intention, to take part in the debate it is impossible to say. Probably he complied with the wish of a considerable group, for he was greeted with cheers when he rose towards the end of the second morning. "So far", he began, "the advocates of federation have had it all their own way. I appear here as the advocate of the simple unadulterated dissolution of the Union." He made a visible impression and it was clear that he expressed the views of a great many among the rank and file at least. In the afternoon, in a speech even more enthusiastically received he moved an amendment in favour of outright dissolution. In ability and power Sheppard's speeches were second only to the great effort made by Brown at the end of the debate, and merit the quotation of a few extracts, even though such a selection scarcely does justice to the forceful and logical exposition of his arguments:

... Before we have Federation . . . we must have the consent of that very section which perpetuates the injustice. I do not believe that is practicable . . . especially when it is based on the recognition of the principle of Representation by Population. . . . One of your arguments for Federation is that it provides for the organization of the Territories in the North-West. But that implies an expensive central government, for during the time of organizing a territory, the central government . . . must do all that the central government of the United States does for its territories. If you have a Federal Government, you must have a vice-roy and all the expenses of a court (No! no!) Say what you will, a Federal Government without Federal dignity would be mere moonshine. . . . With Dissolution we shall have an opportunity of so reducing expenses that we shall have cheapness as well as efficiency. . . . The debt was incurred for certain purposes, and each section of the Province can be made responsible for its own share. . . . A settlement will have to be made as to customs and the distribution of the revenue, and it will be just as easy to adjust these matters under Dissolution as under Federation. . . . Countries are governed by self-interest. If Lower Canada builds up a character for selfishness, our trade will find another channel and Lower Canada will be the sufferer. . . . There will be between us a friendly commercial union, of which we have examples in countries similarly situated. . . . With regard to the canals, they would stand in precisely the same position as the debt. They would have to be maintained under federation as under dissolution. . . .

A Dissolution of the Union, being simple, direct, and already familiar to the minds of thousands, offers immense advantages when considered as the basis of a popular movement. We are told that Dissolution would be an experiment. I ask these advocates of a Federal Union, if their scheme will be anything more than an experiment. Will it be an experiment free of danger? To impose upon a colony the machinery of a nation is not a trifling thing. Are gentlemen ready to face the possible consequences of a measure which will force upon us the forms and expenses of a nationality, without securing to us the dignity and influence of an independent nation? . . . The great mass of the Lower Canadian people are against you. . . . And I think not unreasonably opposed, for Federation as it is commonly presented will be positive bondage to the French race. . . . Think you they do not know your Federation would shut them up in a corner of Canada? . . . You want three provinces or four. . . . Naturally enough, they feel that one French province, with three British provinces pitted against it in the federal government would have scanty likelihood of consideration. To tell me, then, that there are no greater difficulties in the way of federation than are in the way of dissolution, is to discard the whole tone of public opinion in Lower Canada—of course excepting the Montreal district and the eastern townships. . . . Do you believe that none in Lower Canada will respond favourably to our proposition—to shake hands and part? . . . In self defence they will favour that rather than expose themselves to federation. . . . In federation there is one

danger not to be found in dissolution. There is an inherent tendency in central bodies to acquire increased power. In the States, there was a federal party, the advocates of a strong federal authority ever looking about for excuses to add to its glory and influence. . . . In Canada, too, we may expect to see federation followed by the rise of two parties. . . . We shall have gentlemen who, like Mr. Foley, would transfer the Crown Lands to the federation battling for an expensive and a showy and a potent central government; whilst, on the other hand, we shall have many, like Mr. Brown, contending for State rights, local control, and the limited authority of the central power. You say that Upper Canada is to have the preponderance in the federation. What does the federative principle rest upon, if not on an equality of rights, an equality of powers? And yet forsooth, you who taunt us with the difficulties of Dissolution, are not only to have federation carried, but to have it carried upon a principle which recognizes Representation by Population. Here we have the hon. member for South Ontario placing his whole argument upon the ground that Representation by Population could not be carried; and yet we are told that by one stroke you may carry federation, and Representation by Population into the bargain. (Renewed cheers.)

The argument of expense was by all means the most difficult one for the advocates of federation to meet. The provinces, they said, would be divided into districts the local governments of which would be little more than glorified municipal councils; and the general government would be a simple body with powers exactly defined. The British government, it was pointed out, favoured a federation for the Maritime Provinces, and Lower Canada would agree to a similar proposal if sufficiently pressed. "We are in partnership with Lower Canada and have property in common . . .", urged the Hon. M. H. Foley in opposing dissolution of the union. "Under all these circumstances I appeal to the Convention to say whether it will be well to enter upon a discussion which must involve us in many years of wasted energies; in strife with Lower Canada, and perhaps in collision with the British Government?"

A word must be said as to the attitude on federation of all the provinces. All agreed that it was too remote a solution of Upper Canada's immediate problems, but it would be unjust to suggest that the idea had not a profound influence. The dissolutionists themselves did not hesitate to admit its attraction. For the proposal of Galt there was little sympathy—the man and his motives were suspect: "Nothing could be more audacious and insulting to the people of Canada", said Dr. Connor, the member for South Oxford, "than that on a great question like that Mr. Galt

and his colleague should proceed to England in order to patch up their fortunes in this country, and hold on to office a few months longer." But the vision of a great British kingdom stretching from sea to sea was an unanswerable challenge to men of imagination. Countries like Germany, Italy, and the United States were responding to the driving forces of integration and expansion which seemed to be abroad in the western world. Could Canada stand unmoved while the destiny of the great North-west hung in the balance of uncertainty?

I think [said Dr. Clark] we cannot have a Federation satisfactory to both Upper and Lower Canada. I am, however, for a Federation of all the British North American Provinces, for who knows that we may not some day have a scion of royalty to wave a sceptre over us? In the meantime, let us have a dissolution; let us have a proper arrangement for the St. Lawrence and the canals, and when the Red River colony is established and populated, let us have a Federation so colossal that Lower Canada will not have the influence she now possesses, and yet will have her rights.

If [said Sheppard] you say you desire Federation because it would be a great step to nationality, then I am with you. But if it is to be a Federation, with a view to nationality, let us have a Federation of all the Provinces. I can imagine thousands who would bear the extra expense on that ground. But let it be avowed beforehand that we may know what we are about.

On the question of expansion and federation of all the provinces the opponents of dissolution saw their advantage, and they pressed it vigorously.

It is no part of our scheme [said the Hon. David Christie] that there shall not be a Federation of all the British North American Provinces. We adopt the principle of Federation as a step in the right direction . . . to a Federation of all the British North American Provinces first, and beyond that to the admission of other territories in the great North American confederacy. (Cheers.)

It was the plea for expansion which provided the Hon. Malcolm Cameron with the most powerful argument for concluding his "key-note speech" at the beginning of the debate: "All that we have to do is to lay down a platform on which, as in the United States, other territories may come into the confederation, and we shall then have the nucleus of an empire extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

As the debate wore to its close, it became clear that a vote on the amendment must be avoided and that some formula of at least

apparent compromise on which all could unite must be found. It is perhaps significant that such a formula was brought forward by another member of the *Globe* editorial staff, William MacDougall, who in a "clear and forceful speech" quoted to good effect the instructions to Lord Durham in 1838 suggesting the possibility of "constituting some joint Legislative authority". The amendment proposed "two or more local governments, to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character and [instead of the words general government as used in the original resolution] some joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the Province". The virtue of the formula lay in its very vagueness, for no one knew what kind of a central government a joint authority would be,—and no one dared to ask. The resolution was a real compromise for, while it resembled the original resolution, it was accompanied by the definite promise that, should Lower Canada refuse to co-operate in setting up a joint authority, the party would go unanimously for outright dissolution.

That the party would have been split open, perhaps hopelessly shattered, had no compromise formula been found, there can be no doubt. Proof of this is to be found in the sharp internal division made clear to everyone during the course of the debate. There was opposition to dissolution even in the western counties, but east of Toronto the sentiment was overwhelming and the farther one proceeded towards the lower province the stronger the sentiment became. "If the amendment of Mr. Sheppard is passed", warned Mr. Wylie of the Brockville *Recorder*, "you at once cast away from you the support of the people east of Kingston." The great consideration with the eastern districts was the question of commercial relations and the free use of the St. Lawrence:

Dissolution might be all very well for those living west of Toronto [said McBain from Glengarry], but touch a man's pocket, and you touch his principles. It was impossible to stop the trade with Montreal, and in case of a dissolution, should Lower Canada impose a duty, the goods coming to Upper Canada would be subjected to a taxation from which she would derive no revenue. . . . Under the Federative plan on the contrary, this money would be collected for the benefit of the whole instead of for that of a part. He must tell the Convention that in his part of the country, no one believed that they would gain anything directly by a change. Nevertheless, rather than be longer under the heels of Lower Canada, they would consent to a Federation, hoping that afterwards the gentlemen of the West would not drag them through the dirt as they had been trodden in the mire by the Lower Canadians.

The ultimatum of those who came from the eastern counties along the St. Lawrence had a powerful effect. Here, as at so many other points in Canada's history, it was the great river that provided the strongest bond of union. One cannot but admire the finesse with which the party leaders handled the ticklish situation. The freest expression of opinion was encouraged and the dissolutionists were allowed to talk themselves out. As the debate wore on into the evening of the second day the gravity of the issue became clear to everyone. The tide which earlier seemed to run strongly for dissolution, appeared to turn, although there was still great uncertainty as to the final result. Signs of impatience began to show themselves, and men of lesser importance had increasing difficulty in holding their audience. The calls for George Brown became more insistent and when he arose he was greeted with a storm of cheers. It was exactly the kind of occasion suited to his powers, which combined a deft and compelling certainty of analysis, and an unerring logic tinged with a warm appeal to enthusiasm and imagination. In the lucidity of his exposition his hearers, exhausted by two days of conflicting argument, seemed to discern clearly the thoughts towards which they felt they had a moment before been groping. The speech was in truth a magnificent effort, whether viewed as an argument on policy or as a plea for a renewal of confidence in the leadership of himself and his colleagues in the legislature. Beginning with an expression of satisfaction that on so many important matters touching constitutional changes and the evils of the union complete agreement had prevailed, he went on to urge a statesmanlike decision on the one point of contention.¹²

There are many members of the Legislature here to-night who speak from the field of battle, who thoroughly understand the materials of which the Legislature is composed, and there is not one of them who will not tell you that it would be cause of deep regret were this Convention to declare for entire dissolution of the Union. I mean not to say that in the opinion of all of us, dissolution is not theoretically the best remedy—but I do say, that the members of the Parliamentary Opposition who support the present movement unanimously advocate the scheme reported by the committee as the best practicable position for the Liberal party to occupy in view of all the circumstances. (Cheers.) . . . I have no morbid terror of dissolution. . . . I have no fear that the people of Upper Canada would ever desire to become the fag-end of the neighbouring republic. (Cheers.) . . . It cannot but give strength to our demand for the proposition of the Committee, that there are those behind us

¹²As with Sheppard's speeches only extracts can be given, but they give a better impression than a résumé could do.

who, while willing to accept it, are desirous of a change much more radical. . . . We will be in a position to tell our friends of Lower Canada—and the British Government. . . . “There are thousands of energetic and intelligent men in Upper Canada, who are but half satisfied with this moderate demand, and who, in case you reject our proposal will insist on something much less palatable to you.” (Cheers.) . . . Unless the scheme we are prepared to bring before the country can be so framed as to effect a thorough cure of the evils we now deplore—not one of us would accept it. Dissolution—anything—rather than remain as we are now!

What is it that has most galled the people of Upper Canada in the working of the existing Union? Has it not been the injustice done to Upper Canada in local and sectional matters? Has it not been the expenditure of Provincial funds for local purposes of Lower Canada which here are defrayed from local taxation? Has it not been the control exercised by Lower Canada over matters purely pertaining to Upper Canada—the framing of our School laws, the selection of our ministers, the appointment of our local officials? . . . Now, sir, can it be denied that the scheme of the Committee strikes at the root of all these grievances? . . . Undoubtedly the safety of the scheme depends very much on the duties which shall be assigned to the general government. . . . These should be as few as absolute necessity requires. (Cheers.) The collection of revenue to meet the necessary expenditure of the general government and the interest and the sinking fund of the public debt—the management of the Post-Office—the control of the navigation of the St. Lawrence from Lake Superior to the Gulf—and the enactment of common commercial and criminal laws would, I apprehend, embrace the main if not the sole duties entrusted to the central government. It has been said that the management of the Crown Lands might be added—but against this I would resolutely protest. (Cheers.) . . . And this fact can never be lost sight of in the argument—that the scheme of the committee would secure us free access to the Ocean, and every facility for trading with Lower Canada—while Dissolution would place us in both respects, to a certain extent, at the mercy of Lower Canada. Are you content to hand over to Lower Canada the entire control of the St. Lawrence—to have custom house officers stopping our railroad cars and our steamers at certain points on their downward journey and overhauling all the passengers as if entering a foreign country? (Hear, hear.) . . . The whole valley of the Ottawa—the whole district of country from Glengarry to Kingston is supplied with merchandise from Montreal, and sells there its timber and produce in return. Do you fancy that you can satisfy the people of that vast section of country that it would be well to cut off that trade in one day? You all heard what Mr. McDonald and Mr. McBain said on this subject, and it has yet to appear that there is one man in the Convention from east of Kingston who would prefer a dissolution, pure and simple. . . . Not one speaker in favour of Dissolution has failed to recognize the necessity of some power to settle the difficulties which may hereafter arise between the two

countries. Now, if there must be such a power, is it not preferable that the people of Canada should themselves control that power? . . . Have we cause to be so enamoured of Downing-street rule as to be willing to transfer to a Colonial Minister, in office to-day, and out to-morrow, what we can far better execute ourselves? (Cheers.) Again, Sir, even Mr. Sheppard admits that, if the question is placed on the ground of nationality, he must go for Federation—but a Federation of all the British North American Colonies. Now, Sir, I do place the question on the ground of nationality. I do hope there is not one Canadian in this assembly who does not look forward with high hope to the day when these northern countries shall stand out among the nations of the world as one great confederation. (Cheers.) What true Canadian can witness the tide of immigration now commencing to flow into the vast territories of the North-West without longing to have a share in the first settlement of that great and fertile country . . . and making our own country the highway of traffic to the Pacific? (Cheers.) But . . . is it not true wisdom to commence the federative system with our own country, and leave it open to extension hereafter, if time and experience shall prove it to be desirable? And how can there be the slightest question with one who longs for such a nationality, between complete dissolution and the scheme of the Committee? Is it not clear that the former would be a death-blow to the hope of future union, while the latter might at some future day, readily furnish the machinery of a great confederation? (Cheers.) . . . There is one argument which, it appears to me, should be final and conclusive with every man in this assembly. . . . We have now an Upper Canada majority in the assembly and a vast majority in the country—but this point has not been reached without much toil, much endurance, and I warn you to beware lest by your vote of this night you dissipate the work of many years. (Cheers.) . . . It is my duty respectfully to say to this assembly, that if the resolution reported by the Committee is adopted, there is every probability that the Parliamentary Opposition will stand shoulder to shoulder almost unanimously in its advocacy; but that if Dissolution is adopted, we will be divided, our Upper Canada majority will be gone, and the present ministers unrestrained for two years more to come. (Cheers.) . . . In Lower Canada, our friends have already spoken out in favour of just such a scheme as that reported by the Committee, and if it is adopted we will have a united party from both sections of the Province cordially contending for its adoption—a party for the first time cordially co-operating. (Cheers.) Nay, if I am rightly informed, there are five French Canadian newspapers advocating Federation, but not one in favour of Dissolution. . . . Will you insist on Dissolution with the certainty of splitting up your party? . . . The dissolutionists may be right in principle, and we may be wrong—but assuredly under all the circumstances there can be no room to doubt that the measure which promises unanimity should be heartily accepted by us all. (Cheers.) . . . There is no question here of giving up a principle . . . the only doubt is as to the best mode of effecting

what is sought. . . . Now, Sir, I do think that this last amendment of Mr. McDougall affords room for an honourable compromise by all parties, and for one I am prepared to accept it. (Loud cheering.)

The appeal for unity was irresistible, and amid loud cheers Sheppard arose and withdrew his amendment, not that that of MacDougall suited him exactly, he observed, but, if it could be accepted as an honourable compromise without casting upon the dissolutionists the "imputation . . . of having advocated a principle, and then thrown it away", they would willingly make the concession in the interests of party unity. The compromise was carried with "immense enthusiasm" only four hands being raised against it.

What precisely was the significance of the convention and its decisions? In the words of the *Globe*¹³ the party had committed itself enthusiastically to a condemnation of the existing union and the doctrine of double majority; to the advocacy of "strict constitutional restraints" upon the executive; and to the federation of the two provinces with "some simple central authority" to deal with matters of common concern; "the alternative of 'pure and simple dissolution' " being "impliedly reserved". The truth was, however, that the resolutions unanimously endorsed had postponed rather than settled contentious questions. The correspondent of the London *Free press*¹⁴ gave an interpretation which differed considerably from that of the *Globe*. Sheppard, he wrote, took the convention by storm in arguing that the federal proposal was opposed to the principle of Rep. by Pop., and that it would only perpetuate the present difficulties in a more expensive and complicated form. MacDougall's amendment merely disposed of the difficulty by a form of words substituting for "general government" this vague phrase "some joint authority". A shuffle of satisfaction, observed the *Free press*, went through the Convention when this loophole was espied. But no one, it went on, attempted to explain of whom the joint authority should be composed, how it should be constituted, whether the principle of responsible government should be applied, or what it should control. There was general consent to leave it as indefinite as the English language could leave it and merely to assert its curative powers without the slightest acquaintance with its remedial properties.

¹³It said that the dissolutionists yielded "their unabated preferences in compliance with the avowed desires of those whose party services and party position added to the weight of their suggestions".

¹⁴Nov. 18, 1859, special supplement.

That the *Free press* put its finger on the point which the *Globe* wished to avoid is made abundantly clear by two letters written by Sheppard within the next month to his friend Clarke:¹⁵

That dissolution battle in the Convention has left behind a sore in the *Globe* office, which becomes more troublesome daily; and on Wednesday next—the 30th Novr. I place my resignation in Brown's hands. . . . Virtually, the constitutional struggle is now ignored by the *Globe*; at least I am not allowed to write about it. The one thing talked about, is the prospect of getting office. . . . The opinion is avowed that if the present Opposition get in, the country will be satisfied without organic changes; and it is therefore deemed inexpedient to exalt them into importance by frequent discussion. You and I hold, I'm sure, that this is a swindle, by whomsoever perpetrated.

And a few days later he reports a most illuminating conversation with Brown himself:

He [George Brown] dwelt upon the peculiarity of his position, arising from the coolness of many parliamentary friends in regard to constitutional changes, and the probable hostility of the Lower Canadian opposition; defending abstinence from discussion [of them] on the ground that the generalities agreed upon already afford the only basis of party union. He urged that with the view of inducing the Lower Canadians to accept the general principle, specific points must be kept out of view, and that only by these tactics could the fundamental portion of the question be carried. He asked me, therefore, to make no change until the close of the session, and in the interim to make no mention of it as a thing contemplated or resolved upon. This request he rested upon the declaration that the next session will determine his course; that if the Lower Canadians concur, he will content himself with the moderate platform of the convention; that if they do not concur, he will feel compelled by their obstinacy to accept our "extreme views", as he was pleased to call them, & to battle for them "hammer and tongs". . . .

One other point was distinctly brought out. G. B. conceded that party unity, as now existing, cannot continue longer than may be necessary to secure the recognition of the general principle of the change; that, whenever the principle be established, there will be a complete break up, new parties springing inevitably out of what are called details, but what will in fact be the means of eliciting hostile opinions. There will be two extremes—conservative and radical—the third being the compromisers.

Brown's analysis was in fact the long view of the statesman. To him party labels and formal party declarations meant less than the ultimate goal and the compelling arguments of broad public policy,

¹⁵Clarke papers: Letters of Nov. 27 and Dec. 4, 1859.

and in the light of evidence such as that of Sheppard one wonders whether Brown's later reconciliation with Macdonald in the interest of a great cause was so exceptional to his habit of thought as has usually been represented.

Brown's hopes for the session of 1860 were doomed to bitter disappointment.¹⁶ But that and the record of the Grit party during the next few momentous years is a story that lies outside the scope of this paper. Let us not end, however, with a suggestion of anti-climax. Rather we should recall in conclusion the final scene of the historic assembly itself. It broke up in a glow of self-satisfaction and with just the right touch of artistic appropriateness, for was not Mr. G. S. Wilkes—he of the unfortunate reference to the days of '37—given leave, "in consideration of the false allegation against him that he had recommended rebellion in his speech . . . to propose three cheers for the Queen". They were given, in the words of the *Globe*, "with a heartiness which showed that, however much the convention disliked her representative, they entertained a sincere love and respect for the Royal Lady herself". Let our last glance rest, therefore, on the heartening spectacle of a Wilkes craving permission to attest to the world his unqualified loyalty to his sovereign.

GEORGE W. BROWN

¹⁶Sheppard soon went to the *Hamilton Times*, which had been a supporter of the *Globe*, but which now became a very severe critic of Brown's policy and leadership. See *MacKenzie's Toronto Weekly Message* for Feb. 11, April 14 and 21, 1860: the last has an interesting editorial on "Failure of Brown's federal scheme".

QUEEN ANNE AND "THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA"
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

THE bibliography of Canadiana published in Great Britain before the conquest includes many interesting items, but no incident called forth a more amusing body of literature than the visit of the so-called "Four kings of Canada" to Queen Anne in 1710. The purpose of this essay is not to discuss the historical importance of the episode, but merely to survey the printed productions which accompanied and immediately followed the visit.¹

The "kings" were, of course, only Indian chiefs, variously described as belonging to the Five Nations, Iroquois, and Mohawks, and brought to England by Colonel Peter Schuyler and Colonel Francis Nicholson, to strengthen the colonists' case for English assistance in the conquest of Canada. In the Indians' speech to the queen, they begged her to drive the French out of Canada, promising their alliance and active support. The capture of Port Royal² in the autumn of 1710 and the disastrous attempt on Quebec by Sir Hovenden Walker in 1711 followed, and it is possible that the spectacular success of the Indians in London may have influenced the English authorities. Probably, however, the chief significance of the episode lies in the light it throws on the popular reaction to American affairs.

The kings themselves produced only one piece of literature, if, indeed, we can attribute it to their sole authorship: the speech presented to her majesty on the occasion of the public audience she granted them on April 20, 1710. At least two editions of this appeared:

- *1. A Speech made to Her Majesty by the Four Indian Princes of the Continent of America, between New-England and Canada, at a Publick Audience, by their Interpreter, Apr. 20. 1710. Printed in the Year 1710. Half-sheet.³

¹The list here given is a small section of a bibliography of Canadiana published in Great Britain up to 1763, to compile which the writer received a fellowship from the committee on library fellowships of the Carnegie Corporation. It is as complete as a search in libraries on both sides of the Atlantic and numerous bibliographies can make it. The writer will be grateful to anyone who can point out errors or omissions or locate additional copies of any item in Canada. The sign * indicates that the writer has not been able to examine a copy of the item recorded.

²A recent study of this will be found in *Samuel Vetch*, by J. C. Webster (Shediac, N.B., 1929).

³From Bishop White Kennet's *Bibliotheca Americana primordia* (London, J. Churchill, 1713). As this is not merely a bibliography but a catalogue of the collection

2. THE/Four INDIAN KINGS SPEECH/to Her Majesty./
LONDON, April 20. 1710./ [Text] Printed, and sold by
JOHN BAKER, at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster Row.
s.sh. fol.⁴

The principal account of the visit will be found, under date of April 19, 1710 (IX, 189-91), in

3. [Boyer, Abel] History of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into Annals. . . . London: Printed for A. Roper . . . 1703-MDCCXIII. 8°.

Boyer quotes the speech of the Indians in full, explains their mission, and describes their entertainment. Under date of 1711 (IX, 191-4) is an account of General Nicholson's capture of Port Royal, with the articles of capitulation, while the story of the attempt on Quebec, with Sir Hovenden Walker's despatch from H.M.S. *Edgar*, dated September 12, 1712, will be found in X, 152-62.⁵

An interesting sidelight on the visit is to be found in John Genest's *Some account of the English stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (Bath, 1832), II, 450-2. At Bowen's Benefit at the Haymarket, on April 24, 1710, the performance of *Macbeth* was held up by the mob who attended "in order to survey the swarthy monarchs" until, to satisfy their curiosity, Wilks had the kings brought from their box to sit on the stage. The guests of honour were gracefully welcomed in the epilogue to the play:

O, Princes, who have with amazement seen
So good, so gracious and so great a Queen;
Who from her royal mouth have heard your doom
Secured against the threat of France and Rome;
Awhile some moments on our scenes bestow. . . .

Mr. Bowen also showed himself properly grateful for the success of the evening:

Thanks therefore to your majesties are owing
By your most humble servant William Bowen.

which the good bishop presented to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, we may be sure that this broadside once existed. The bishop's catalogue is the first, as it is one of the best and most readable, lists of Americana in English and he is generally to be relied upon. The item will be found at p. 206.

⁴Copies: British museum, Earl of Crawford, Newberry library, Chicago. Sabin 25283. Newberry copy bound with 4 engraved portraits (head and shoulders) "I. Faber Fecit & Excudit. 1710. Sold by I. Faber near y^e Savoy & I. King in y^e Poultry &c."

⁵These accounts in more summary form are repeated in the 1722 edition of Boyer's *The history of the life and reign of Queen Anne*. . . . London, Printed by J. Roberts . . . M DCC XXII, 468 and 507-10.

Genest describes his copy of a broadside as follows:

- *4. The Epilogue to be spoken *Before the four Indian Kings*, at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay. this present Monday, being the 24th of April. [Text] Price one penny.

The best-known of the pamphlets which their visit called forth is a rare and valuable collectors' item:

5. THE/ Four Kings/ OF/ CANADA./ BEING/ A Succinct Account of the/ Four *Indian* Princes lately arriv'd/ from *North America*./ WITH/ A particular Description of their Country, / their strange and remarkable Religion, Feasts, / Marriages, Burials, Remedies for their Sick, / Customs, Manners, Constitution, Habits, / Sports, War, Peace, Policy, Hunting, Fish-/ing, Utensils belonging to the Savages, with/ several other Extraordinary Things worthy/ Observation, as to the natural or curious/ Productions, Beauty, or Fertility of that/ Part of the World./ [Line] *Enter'd in the Hall-Book of the Company of Stationers, pursuant to Act of Parliament.* [Line] LONDON/ Printed: And sold by *John Baker*, at the *Black Boy* in/ *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1710. Price Six-pence. 47 [1, Books] p. 8°. in fours.⁶

This pamphlet also reprints the kings' speech and touches on their mission, but the greater part of it is taken up with a description of Canada and the Indians, wherein some astonishing facts are brought to light, such as that the River Canada contains fish with heads resembling the heads of hares and bodies white as snow.

Less well known are two other pamphlets which seldom find their way into bibliographies or catalogues:

6. THE/ HISTORY/ Of the FOUR/ *INDIAN KINGS*/ From the Continent of *America*,/ between *New-Eengland* [sic] and *Ca-/nada*. Who came to Begg Her/ Majesties Protection from the/ Tyraunical and Arbitrary Power/ of *France*./ Together wirh[sic] their being Converted to the/ CHRISTIAN RELIGION,/ And their Communicat- ing daily with the/ Church of *England*./ As also their/

⁶Three copies of this are to be found in the national library of Scotland and one in the Newberry library. A copy was offered in the Field sale, New York, 1875, and in the De Puy sale, 1920. The latter brought \$390 and was said to have been the first perfect copy offered for sale since 1884. A facsimile reprint was published in 1891 by J. E. Garratt and Company, London. Even this is fairly uncommon, but copies will be found in the British museum, Public Archives of Canada, Queen's University library, library of congress, John Carter Brown library, Detroit public library, and Gagnon's collection. Sabin 25282.

SPEECH/ To Her Majesty/ To the Admiration of the whole World./ *Entered in the Hall-Book according to Order.*/ LONDON: Printed and Sold by *Edward Midwinter,*/ at the *Star* in *Pye-Corner*, near *West-Smith field* 1710. 7 [1] p. 8°. (Bodleian, *Cambridge University library, national library of Scotland. Not in Sabin.)

There is a crude woodcut on p. [8] headed: "The Four *Indian* Kings, Prostrating themselves before Her Majesty". The author is very much in favour of the proposed alliance and expedition against Canada and is very complacent about the perfection of all things English. The most notable feature of this production is the rendition of the kings' speech into rhyming couplets.

Our other pamphlet is also crudely printed and full of startling information on Indian customs:

7. THE/ History and Progress of the four *Indian* Kings,/ To the Kingdom of/ *England*: Giving/ a particular Di-/ scription of the/ Country they/ came from Their/ Govern- ment, Cu-/stoms, Religion,/ and manners./ With their Habits,/ Feasts, Marriages/ and Burials, and/ what else is re-/markable the of [*sic*]/ strange People./ Together with their/ Effigies at large in/ the habits they/ now wear./ Their Business to/ Her most Sa-/cred Majesty/ *Queen Anne.*/ Also the four *Indi-/an* King's Speech/ to her Majesty./ With the Epilogue/ spoken to them at/ the Play-house./ London, Printed by *A. Hinde*, in *Fleet Street*. 1710. [8] p. 8°. Four portraits on title-page. (British museum, Newberry library. Sabin 32113.)

The kings also inspired the ballad-makers to at least three efforts, of which two are very rare indeed:

8. The Royal Strangers Ramble,/ Or, *The Remarkable* Lives, Customs, and Character of the Four *Indian Kings*:/ With the manner of their *Daily* Pastimes, Humours and Behaviours since their/ first Landing in *England*. Render'd into Pleasant and Familiar Verse./ [Line] Written by a Person of Quality./ [Line] Enter'd in the *Hall Book* of the Company of Stationers, pursuant to an Act of Parliament./ [Line; text; line] by *W Wise* in *Fetter-Lane*, *Fleet street*. 1710. s.sh. fol. 2 columns.⁷

⁷The present Earl of Crawford has what is, so far as I can learn, a unique copy of this doggerel. It is recorded in *Bibliotheca Lindesiana; catalogue of a collection of English ballads of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries* (privately printed, Aberdeen University Press, 1890) by James Ludovic Lindsay, 26th Earl of Crawford (d. 1913), 146.

This begins:

Four Monarchs of Worth,
From their Kingdoms set forth,
Without Hose or Shoes to their Feet,

and proceeds to describe their progress from Plymouth and entertainment in London in somewhat satirical terms. The author concludes:

And no one before
Return'd from our Shore
With so little Advantages Home.

9. The Royal Embassy/ OR/ A Ballad on the Progress of the four/ Indian Kings, that have come so many/ thousand leagues to see her/ present Majesty./ To the Tune of, A soldier and a Sailor, &c.⁸

The *Royal embassy* begins:

Four Kings, each God's Viceregent,
With Right divine inherent,
Have lately cross'd the Main, Sir,
An Audience to gain, Sir,
Of Britain's Empress Anne.

These two gems of English poesy seem to have had an ephemeral life, but our third effort had a long career and may, indeed, be regarded as the most lasting result of the sensation the kings caused in London. It went merrily on being reprinted and sold until well into the nineteenth century. Copies still find their way into sale catalogues—in 1932 four copies attributed to London, 1780-1800, bound in a quarto volume, were priced at £10 10s—and the shorter version has been reprinted several times in recent years. I have never seen in any modern reprint the additional verses which give the poem its happy ending in some editions, and that there are two versions is almost unrecorded.

The following editions are arranged in chronological order as far as that could be determined:⁹

⁸The only edition of this that I have seen is in one of those collections (frequently called "garlands") which abounded in the eighteenth century, the full title of which is as follows: *Have at you blind Harpers./ THREE/ BALLADS/ Concerning the/ TIMES./ Consisting of, I. The Royal Embassy: Or, A Ballad on the/ Progress of the four Indian Kings, that have/ come so many thousand Leagues to see her/ present Majesty./ II. A humoursom Ditty to Dr. Sacheverell's back/ Friends./ III. A Cure for religious Disputes: Or, The/ Battel Royal./ Which may be sung or said by either the Nobility,/ Gentility, or Mobility, both Male and Female./ To the Tune of, A Soldier and a Sailor, &c./ Enter'd in the Hall-Book of the Company of Stationers, pursuant to Act of Parliament./ LONDON Printed: And Sold by J. Baker, at the/ Sign of the Negro in Pater-Noster-Row, and by all her/ Majesty's Running-Stationers. Price one*

10. A. Shorter version

- *i. The Four Indian Kings./ In Two Parts./ Part I./ How a beautiful Lady conquered/ one of the Indian Kings./ Part II./ The Lady's Answer to the Indian/ King's Request./ [no imprint, 17-?] 2 woodcuts, 5 columns (*Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, 55).
- ii. The Four INDIAN KINGS/ In Two Parts./ [2 woodcuts: Three kings; Lady. Text] Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in *Bow-Church-Yard, London*. [17-?] s.sh. fol. 5 columns. (British museum)
- iii. THE/ FOUR/ INDIAN/ KINGS./ In TWO PARTS./ Tewkesbury: Printed and Sold by S. HARWARD; Sold also at his Shops in GLOCESTER and CHELTENHAM [ca 1760-75?] 7p. 12°. (British museum)
- iv. The Indian Lover' [*sic*]/ GARLAND./ In TWO PARTS./ I. The Indian Lovers; or, an Account how one of/ the Indian Kings fell in Love with a Lady that was/ walking in St. James's Park./ II. The Pleasures of Sunderland Town./ [Woodcut of king] Licensed and Entered according to Order. 8p. 8°. (British museum)¹⁰
- v. The Four Indian Kings./ IN TWO PARTS./ [Woodcut of ship] <J. Evans, Printer, 41 & 42, Long-Lane, London.> s.sh. fol. 5 columns.¹¹
- vi. THE/ Four Indian Kings./ IN TWO PARTS./ [Woodcut of three kings; text] Printed and sold by J. Pitts. 14, Great St. Andrew street, seven Dials. s.sh. fol. 5 columns.
- vii. THE FOUR/ INDIAN KINGS. s.sh. fol. 4 columns.
- viii. THE/ Four Indian Kings./ IN TWO PARTS./ [Woodcut of three kings; text] J. Pitts, Printer, and Wholesale Toy Warehouse 6 Great St. Andrew, Street. s.sh. fol. 5 columns.

Penny. 8p. 8°. (National library of Scotland, *Cambridge University library.) Both catalogues attribute it to 1710. The *Royal embassy* occupies pp. 3-5.

⁹For assistance in dating several of these I am indebted to the reference department of the Birmingham public library.

¹⁰B.M. catalogue supplies: [Newcastle, 1768?]. This seems to be the same as no. 886 in Harvard University library: *Bibliographical contributions* no. 56, 1905.

¹¹Items v-viii are the sale copies referred to above, attributed to 1780-1800. W. P. Witton, Hamilton, has a copy of vii, which is probably the same also as a Newberry library copy.

- ix. *The Indian Lover's*/GARLAND./ *In Two PARTS.*/
I. *The Indian Lover*; or, an Account/ how one of the
Indian Kings fell in/ Love with a Lady that was
walking/ in *St. James's park.* II. *The Honest*
fellow, *A new Song.*/ [Woodcut of Indians] 8p. 8°.
(Bodleian)¹²

The poem begins:

Attend unto a true relation
Of four Indian Kings of late

and describes how one of the Indian kings, who has become clothed by this time in more than oriental splendour, sees the lady, falls violently in love with her, and sends a friend to plead his suit. The lady spurns his offer of diamonds and untold wealth. Even for a throne she will not wed a heathen and bids the messenger so report "To your master yet unknown". These words conclude the shorter version, which we may perhaps assume is the original one. Though we cannot say with certainty that any of the existing copies were published in 1710, it is most probable that the first editions were brought out while the interest in the kings was still fresh. The happy ending which we find in some editions must have been written after the death of Queen Anne in 1714. These additional twenty-four lines relate how the Indian king became a Christian, whereupon he was joyfully accepted by the lady and the wedding was

Honor'd with the Royal Presence,
Of our late most Gracious Queen.

10. B. Longer version.

- x. *THE*/ three Indian Kings'/ GARLAND./ Being a faithful and true Account how the po-werful Charms of a beautiful Lady conquer'd/ the Heart of one of the three Indian Kings./ [Woodcut of conventional king's head] Printed for S. GAMIDGE, in Worcester. [176-?] 8p. 12°. (British museum)
- xi. *THE*/ FOUR *Indian KINGS*/ GARLAND:/ BEING/ A faithful and true Account how/ the powerful Charms of a young/ Lady conquered the Heart of/ one of the four Indian Kings./ [Woodcut of man's head in wide collar] *Licensed and entered according to Order.* 8p. 8°.¹³ (British museum)

¹²Bodleian copy has MS. note at foot of title-page: Whitehaven, 1850.

¹³The date in the B.M. catalogue is 1800?, but the binder's title on the volume which contains it is "Garlands 1720-50".

- xii. THE/ Four Indian Kings/ GARLAND,/ BEING/
A faithful and true Account how the/ powerful
charms of a beautiful Lady/ conquer'd the Heart of
one of the Four INDIAN KINGS./ [Woodcut of
lady and gentleman in 18th-century dress] J. Ferraby,
Printer, Market-Place, Hull. 8p. 12^o.¹⁴ (British
museum, Bodleian)
- xiii. THE/ GARLAND/ OF THE THREE / INDIAN
KINGS./ BEING/ A faithful and true account how
the powerful/ Charms of a beautiful English Lady
conquered/ the Heart of one of the Three Indian
Kings./ [Woodcut of three conventional kings]
Gateshead: Printed by J. Marshall [181-?] 8p. 8^o.
(British museum)

Item 11 is to be found in the *Spectator*, no. 50, Friday, April 27, 1711 (by Addison). It marks, perhaps, the first appearance in English of a popular literary device: a satirical account of our civilization put in the mouth of a foreigner with very different standards. This amusing essay is supposed to have been left by one of the kings at the house of the upholsterer, where he lodged. The Indian is puzzled by the conduct of the crowd at St. Paul's, which, he understands, was formerly a place of worship, conceives of Whigs and Tories as strange ferocious monsters, satirizes the dress, wigs, patches, and so on.¹⁵

This had a curious sequel:

- 12. Royal Remarks;/ Or, The/ Indian King's Observations/
On the most/ Fashionable Follies:/ Now reigning in the/
Kingdom of Great-Britain./ [Line] The Upholsterer
finding my Friend very inquisi-/tive about these his
Lodgers, brought him a/ Bundle of Papers, which he
assur'd him were/ written by King Ouka; and as he
suppos'd,/ left behind by some Mistake./ These Papers
are now translated, and contain a-/bundance of very odd
Observations; which I/ find this little Fraternity of Kings
made du-/ring their Stay in the Isle of Great-Britain./

¹⁴Line endings vary slightly in another copy in the B.M. and the Bodleian copy. B.M. catalogue gives date [1800 ?] but a MS. note at the foot of the title-page of the Bodleian copy gives 1810. If "J. Ferraby" is a misprint for "G. Ferraby", we might put the date much earlier, since there was a George Ferraby in business as a bookseller in Hull in 1735.

¹⁵For an interesting note on Swift's claim to have originated this idea, see the *Spectator*, ed. by G. Gregory Smith, 1897, I, 336, n.

Spectator, No. L./ [Line] London:/ Printed for and Sold
by the Booksellers/ [1711?] (Price One Shilling) 55p. 8°. ¹⁶

The opening paragraph is the same as in the *Spectator* essay, but the rest of the supposed manuscript is sadly different. No attempt is made to preserve the character of the alleged author and the savage's point of view is lost sight of. The writer is chiefly concerned with poking somewhat heavy fun at etymologists and philosophers: Squire Wronghead, Dr. Puzzlepate, Will Blunderbuss, and so on.

13. There are references to our kings in the *Tatler* also, in no. 171, May 11-3, 1710, and in no. 165. Specially interesting is an advertisement at the end of no. 250, Nov. 14, 1710, reproduced with some variations in nos. 253, 256, and 267. The original advertisement read as follows: "This is to give notice, that the metzotinto-prints, by John Simmonds, in whole lengths, of the four Indian Kings, that are done from the original pictures drawn by John Verelst, which her Majesty has at her palace at Kensington, are now to be delivered to subscribers, and sold at the Rainbow and Dove, the corner of Ivy Bridge in the Strand."¹⁷

One last, non-political, result of the kings' visit remains to be noted:

14. An historical account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Containing their foundation, proceedings, and the success of their missionaries in the British colonies, to the year 1728. By David Humphreys, D.D. Secretary to the honourable Society. London, Printed by Joseph Downing, M.DCC. XXX. xxxi, 356p. 2fold. maps. 8°. (Reprinted New York, 1853; Sabin 33801.)

¹⁶The only copy of this that I have seen is in the British museum and the only place I have seen it listed is in the De Puy catalogue, part III, 39. It brought \$352.50.

¹⁷This opens up a line of inquiry, which, being outside the main scope of my work, I have not pursued exhaustively. The curious are referred to the John Carter Brown catalogue, the references in a footnote of Winsor (V, 107), and the De Puy catalogue, pt. 2, 51. There seem to have been at least four sets, possibly five, reproduced in mezzotint, two sets of full-length portraits, one of oval busts, and one of oval busts printed on one sheet. The British museum has two different prints of the combined portraits, none of them identical with the separate portraits, of which there are five, as follows: Two of Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, emperor of the Six Nations, one painted by P. Schenk (De Puy 1197) and one painted by I. Verelst and engraved by I. Simon, 1710; two of E. Tow O. Koam, one painted by I. Faber, 1710, and one by Verelst and Simon; and one of Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, king of Maquas, also by Verelst and Simon. I am indebted to a friend in London for these particulars. The oval busts on one sheet were taken from ivory miniatures "Done after the original Limnings, Drawn from ye Life by B. Lens junr. B. Lens, ex." (De Puy 1194).

The matter of interest to us at the moment will be found on pp. 292-310. Following a request from the "Four Sachems or chief Persons" of the Four Nations of the Iroquois, the society decided to send two missionaries, salary £150 each, and a school-master-interpreter. A fort, chapel, and house for the minister were to be built among the "Mohocks" at the government's expense. These plans were carried out, at least in part, but the missionaries met with nothing but hardships and discouragement. The parents did not want their children to learn English, Jesuits aroused suspicion of the Englishmen's motives in the Indians' minds, and the tribesmen could not be induced to settle down and cultivate the ground. The mission was abandoned after a few years and we have this final comment on the famous visit:

It might have been imagined the Sachems, those petty Kings, who were in England in the late Queen's Time, should have been so strongly affected with seeing the Grandeur, Pleasure, and Plenty of this Nation, that when they came to their own Countries, they would have tried to reduce their People to a polite Life; would have employ'd their whole Power to expel that rude Barbarism, and introduce Arts, Manners, and Religion. But the contrary happened, they sunk themselves into their old brutal Life, and tho' they had seen this great City, when they came to their own Woods, they were all Savages again.

FREDA F. WALDON

REFERENCES

The writer has not attempted to compile a complete list of references to secondary works. The following may be noted:

- ASHTON, JOHN. *Social life in the reign of Queen Anne, taken from the original sources*. London: Chatto and Windus. 1882. At pp. 293-5.
 BARTLETT, JOHN RUSSELL. "The four kings of Canada" (*Magazine of American history*, New York, 1878, II, 151-6). Four portraits on one plate.
 BISSELL, BENJAMIN. *The American Indian in English literature of the 18th century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1925.
 PARKMAN, FRANCIS. *Half-century of conflict*. London: Macmillan. 1892. At pp. 141-2.
 SMITH, SAMUEL. *The history of the colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey, to the year 1721*. Burlington, N.J.: James Parker. 1765. At pp. 366-9.
 WINSOR, JUSTIN. *Narrative and critical history of America*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1887. Vol. V, p. 107.

The volumes by Bartlett and Bissell contain the shorter version of the ballad listed as item 10A. It will also be found in Sir C. H. Firth, *An American garland, being a collection of ballads relating to America, 1563-1759* (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1915), 60-8. Sir Charles's copy had imprint "Turner, printer, Coventry". It may be the same as no. 888, Harvard bib. cont., no. 56.

THE RECEPTION OF LORD DURHAM'S *REPORT* IN THE ENGLISH PRESS

"LORD DURHAM'S name is in everybody's mouth and is the chief topic in every newspaper and periodical."¹ This comment of Charles Greville on December 6, 1838, shows the widespread interest of the English press in the return of the Earl of Durham from his three-fold commission in the British provinces of North America. Such an interest was not new. Throughout the year 1838, from the time of the popular appointment of Lord Durham to Canada until his voluntary resignation, his far-sighted, independent, and sometimes arrogant policy had been the subject of leaders in the journals of England.² An informed and prejudiced public, therefore, awaited his much heralded reflections on conditions in the Canadas and his remedial proposals.

That the press accorded such publicity to a colonial question seems to show that English citizens manifested more interest in British oversea possessions than is often accredited to them during the Melbourne administration,³ for, by 1839, the press had become a powerful and self-conscious instrument of public control in the awakened national life of the newly dominant English middle class. The great papers of the day reflected and shaped public sentiment. To their editors governments came for advice,⁴ and, with a rapidly rising newspaper circulation,⁵ the confidence of the editors was increasing. Their views on Lord Durham's *Report* might well hasten or retard the development of a new British empire.

The examination of newspaper opinions has been confined in this article to ten of the leading journals of the period, chosen as representative of the Tory, Whig, and Radical points of view in the daily, weekly, and quarterly press. All except the *Edinburgh review* were published in London.

¹The Greville memoirs, ed. by Henry Reeve, 8 vols. (London, 1904), IV, 146.

²C. New, *Lord Durham* (Oxford, 1929), chaps. xvii-xxi. The *Examiner* and the *Spectator* for 1838 further bear this out.

³The Canadian situation played into the hands of the increasing opposition to the Whig ministry, which, of course, enhanced, if it did not explain, its news value (New, *Lord Durham*, 475).

⁴The Greville memoirs, III, 154, 161.

⁵The total number of copies of newspapers sold in Great Britain from September, 1836, to September, 1837, increased approximately 18,000,000 over the previous year (A. Andrews, *A history of British journalism*, 2 vols., London, 1859, II, 236). The *Morning chronicle's* circulation rose from 1,000 in 1834 to 6,000 in 1839 (H. R. Fox-Bourne, *English newspapers*, 2 vols., London, 1897, II, 89).

Among the old established daily papers, *The Times* (founded 1785) stood pre-eminent in 1839, claiming under the direction of Thomas Barnes,⁶ editor, John Walter, controller, and Edward Sterling, "chief thunderer", to lead three-fourths of the people of England.⁷ It was then giving evidence of that independence which it had always professed,⁸ but which had generally succumbed to the ministerial point of view.⁹ During Melbourne's administration, however, the Tories could usually count upon its support. Its chief Tory rival was the evening *Standard* (founded 1827), edited by Stanley Lees Giffard. The *Morning chronicle*, however, offered greater competition for public support through its frank advocacy of Whig sentiment under the skilled direction of John Black as editor, and John Easthope, proprietor. The *Globe and traveller* (founded 1803) in the hands of Colonel Robert Torrens and Gibbons Merle, carried on the defence of the Whig administration in the evening.¹⁰ Unfortunately there was no daily paper at this time to plead the cause of the Philosophic Radicals.

The more important weeklies which summarized and discussed the news first circulated by the dailies, were *John Bull*, the *Examiner*, and the *Spectator*. Each of them, too, had a clearly defined political allegiance. *John Bull* (founded 1820), in spite of its Tory colouring, is the least reliable of the group. Under the editorship of Theodore Hook¹¹ for many years, it was more sensational than accurate, more clever than profound.¹² So scandalous was its treatment of events, that Greville wrote of it, "John Bull defends so many indefensible things that its advocacy isn't worth much".¹³ Nevertheless, it proved a valuable prop to Tory principles in several emergencies.¹⁴ In startling contrast in both method and style, the highly respectable *Examiner* (founded 1810), under the guidance of Albany Fonblanque, tendered its support to the Melbourne government in 1839. Its judgment, however, on social and political questions was often closely allied with that of the Philosophic Radicals.¹⁵ This latter group of thinkers, never-

⁶Lord Lyndhurst called Barnes "the most powerful man in the country" (*The Greville memoirs*, III, 160).

⁷Fox-Bourne, *English newspapers*, II, 85.

⁸See opening editorial of *The Times* on its début as the *Universal register*, Jan. 1, 1785.

⁹Fox-Bourne, *English newspapers*, II, 17.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, II, 89.

¹¹*Dictionary of national biography*, ed. by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 22 vols. (reprinted London, 1921-2), IX, 1168-70.

¹²Fox-Bourne, *English newspapers*, II, 8.

¹³*The Greville memoirs*, II, 99.

¹⁴*Quarterly review*, May, 1843, LXXII, art. on Theodore Hook.

¹⁵Fox-Bourne, *English newspapers*, II, 41; *D.N.B.*, VII, 363-5.

theless, felt the need of a journal devoted primarily to their reforms and for that purpose had established the *Spectator* in 1828. Robert Stephen Rintoul and his talented staff made it at once a worthy exponent of the views of Bentham and his circle.¹⁶

These three groups of opinion found respective champions in the more reflective quarterly reviews. In the guise of reviewing books and parliamentary speeches and papers, these journals took up seriously the major questions of the day. The *Edinburgh review* established the precedent with Francis Jeffry as editor in 1802. Its aim was to promote a "more liberal and popular system of government".¹⁷ In 1839, it had been under the direction of Macvey Napier for ten years,¹⁸ and was distinguished by a galaxy of contributors. The immediate success of the *Edinburgh review* had incited Tory sentiment to set up a rival journal in 1809, known as the *Quarterly review*. John Gibson Lockhardt, its discriminating editor, 1826-53, attracted outstanding talent to his support, which spared no effort to undermine Whig control in 1839.¹⁹ The *Westminster review* entered the field in 1824, through funds made possible by Jeremy Bentham. Under the editorship of John Stuart Mill in 1839, it advocated in trenchant phrases the theories of Bentham, Grote, and the colonial reformers, aiming to stir the educated radicals of that day into effective political action.²⁰

These and other journals had prepared the British public for Lord Durham's *Report* and now stood ready to shape opinion concerning it.

The circumstances attending the publication of the *Report* were unique. Durham worked on the document until the end of January. The colonial office received it on February 4.²¹ At the opening of parliament the next day, however, Durham lost no time demanding of the prime minister when his *Report* was to be laid before the house. Melbourne replied that the ministers must have time to consider the *Report* which they had received only the previous evening, but that the despatches and "all the information" contained in the *Report* should be laid on the table with as little delay as possible.²²

¹⁶*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., 1930, art. on R. S. Rintoul; Fox-Bourne, *English newspapers*, II, 47.

¹⁷A. Elliott, "Reviews and magazines in the early years of the 19th century" (*Cambridge history of English literature*, 15 vols., Cambridge, 1920-7, XII, 142).

¹⁸*D. N. B.*, XIV, 63-9.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, XII, 47-9; W. Graham, *Tory criticism in the Quarterly review, 1809-53* (New York, 1921).

²⁰E. Halévy, *Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (London, 1925), 483; J. S. Mill, *Autobiography* (New York, 1873), 214.

²¹New, *Lord Durham*, 481.

²²*The Times*, Feb. 6, 1839, "Proceedings of the House of Lords, Feb. 5".

A *verbatim* record of this incident appeared on February 6 in the daily newspapers as a part of their regular parliamentary reports. It was, therefore, an expectant but surprised public which discovered in *The Times* of February 8 the complete text of the conclusion of the anticipated *Report*. As the *Report* had not yet been brought before parliament, such a *début* was sensational. No significant editorial comments accompanied this stolen thunder. None was necessary to arouse both press and parliament.

The entire *Report* was immediately made public by many members of the press. *The Times* completed its publication in three days,²³ and the *Standard*²⁴ copied daily each instalment. The *Chronicle* began with the first chapters on the ninth, and so eager was it not to be outdone by its Tory rival that, through increasing its bulk by several sheets, it printed the full text in two days.²⁵ The literate English public was thus fully acquainted with Durham's proposals when Melbourne, his hand thus forced by the press, laid the entire *Report* before parliament on the eleventh.

These readers, however, were in general left to draw their own conclusions regarding Lord Durham's arraignment of British policy in Canada and his recommendations for reform. Throughout February and early March, the daily and weekly journals recorded faithfully the parliamentary discussion of Durham's policies in Canada, his opinions on Canadian problems, and his remedial measures. Their comments, however, were concentrated more upon the questions raised in Westminster than upon questions arising from their independent judgment of the *Report*. And the questions raised in Westminster were largely the questions of petty politicians rather than those of far-sighted statesmen.²⁶

That the parliamentary discussion and hence the press reports concerning the work of the Earl of Durham were often insignificant, is not surprising. A colourless government was in power. The Whig ministry could count on only a small majority in the commons. Opposition was to be expected from both the right and the left. Many members, like Lord Durham himself, acted independently of party loyalty and according to personal convictions on the political and industrial problems which commanded more attention than colonial policies in the early years of Victoria's

²³*The Times*, Feb. 8, 9, and 11, 1839.

²⁴*The Standard*, Feb. 8, 9, and 11, 1839.

²⁵*The Morning chronicle*, Feb. 9 and 11, 1839.

²⁶Morison, "The mission of the Earl of Durham" (*Cambridge history of the British Empire*, 8 vols., Cambridge, 1929-33, IV, 289).

reign. Furthermore, although the Melbourne government and Durham had agreed for selfish reasons to stand together on the proposals for Canadian reforms about to be brought before parliament,²⁷ the memories of their recent animosity and the issues which provoked it²⁸ were too fresh in the minds of their political opponents not to be used as a means of delaying the discussion of the principles for which Lord Durham's *Report* is justly famous.

The traditionally Tory journals seized upon the unexplained publication²⁹ of the *Report* in *The Times*, to cast suspicion on Melbourne's support of Durham,³⁰ to insinuate that Durham himself was responsible, as otherwise Melbourne would have prevented the publication of parts of the *Report*.³¹ Durham's denial availed little except in the columns of the liberal journals. *The Times* meanwhile rejoiced in its sensational achievement and professed great generosity of spirit in thus furthering the interests of the lord high commissioner.³² The incident assumed the proportions of a national issue.

Beneath this political banter, however, some recognition of the significance of the *Report* which the Earl of Durham had written on Canada, is to be found in the journals of the day. The development of this opinion was influenced by the publication of two other books of political import, supplementary to the commissioner's report. These were *Copies or extracts of correspondence relative to the affairs of British North America*, and *A narrative* by Sir Francis Head, the inept lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, 1835-8. The former consisted of despatches concerning Canada from Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, Lord Durham, Sir John Colborne, and Sir George Arthur;³³ the latter was a hasty effort on the part of the former governor to defend himself and his administration against the attacks levelled at them in Lord Durham's *Report*.

²⁷New, *Lord Durham*, 486-91.

²⁸Morison, "The mission of the Earl of Durham", 289-99.

²⁹According to Henry Reeve, the editor of Charles Greville's *Memoirs*, Gibbon Wakefield, fearing that the ministry might cut out some of the fundamental sections of the *Report* before publication, sent it to *The Times* without Durham's knowledge (*The Greville memoirs*, IV, 168-9). This is questioned by Morison and New on the basis of too indirect evidence. Durham himself had given Easthope of the *Morning chronicle* a copy of his *Report* with an injunction not to publish it (*The Greville memoirs*, IV, 169).

³⁰*John Bull*, Feb. 18 and 25, 1839.

³¹*The Standard*, editorials, Feb. 9 and 12, 1839.

³²*The Times*, editorials, Feb. 9 and 13, 1839.

³³Sir John Colborne was governor-general of the Canadas, excepting Newfoundland, in 1838. Sir George Arthur was lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada in 1838 (Sir C. P. Lucas, *Lord Durham's report on the affairs of British North America*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1912, I, 100).

The Duke of Wellington had moved for Head's despatches in parliament on February 14, after the *Standard*, the preceding evening, had made public Head's letter to Melbourne in which Sir Francis had stated the necessity of publishing his papers at once in answer to Durham's accusations.³⁴ Thus sponsored, *A narrative* became the foil of the opposition in its attack on Durham and the Whig colonial policy. It was a weak but flashing weapon, a spectacular contrast to the object of its thrust.

The views of the flamboyant Sir Francis are well known. His bold, if not too honest, defence of the old colonial order³⁵ warmed the Tory hearts. His dramatic encounters with Canadian republicans provided adequate evidence for the denunciation of all schemes for responsible government in the Canadas. In Head the Tories found a patriot who not only had fought at Waterloo but who had exposed the vicious colonial policy of the Whigs and who had fathomed the insidious radicalism of the North American colonists. He had been the wise, uncompromising master which Upper Canada needed. He understood the Canadas as the Earl of Durham could never hope to do. And he had been a martyr to his own high principles. Without questioning Head's accuracy or integrity, the Tory press echoed his battle cry after a cautious initial approach to the *Report*.

The Times took an objective and slightly favourable view of the *Report* at the time of its publication, owing perhaps to the fact that it did not know what the attitude of the ministry would be towards Durham's proposals.³⁶ It recognized the *Report* as "remarkable writing", "a kind of political dissertation, ill-described as a 'report'", similar perhaps because of its length and its didactic tone to the *Cyropoediae* of Xenophon.³⁷ It noted with satisfaction, evidence of "a well stored mind" and diligence in the application of its resources, as well as in the accumulation of every species of information applicable to the question at hand. It felt, however, skeptical of many of Durham's recommendations for a new Canadian policy. The idea of a legislative union of all the British provinces in North America,³⁸ governed by so distant a sovereign as the queen of England at a time when all monarchical institu-

³⁴The *Standard*, Feb. 13, 1839.

³⁵Sir Francis B. Head, *A narrative* (London, 1839); J. Burton, "Sir Francis Head" (*Canadian forum*, VIII, Aug., 1928); W. Smith, *Political leaders in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1931).

³⁶New, *Lord Durham*, 491.

³⁷*The Times*, editorial, Feb. 13, 1839.

³⁸*Lord Durham's report*, II, 309.

tions were threatened, seemed extremely daring. And, even should this union remain loyal to the parent state, *The Times* feared conflicts within the house of assembly. It then dismissed as too radical the proposals for a system of municipal institutions in Canada³⁹ which England had not yet thought prudent to grant to her equally turbulent but much nearer neighbour, Ireland. It further pointed out that the idea of a union of Upper and Lower Canada was not new to parliament, a bill for that purpose, introduced by Sir Wilmot Horton in 1822, having been opposed by the Whigs and withdrawn.⁴⁰ No such sapient comments appeared in the *Standard*. It merely warned its readers against the dearth of information in the *Report*.⁴¹

More personal attacks on Durham characterized the editorials which followed the publication of the correspondence and *A narrative*. Tory sentiment rose to the fore in both *The Times* and the *Standard*. The recent high commissioner was accused of "monstrous folly",⁴² of the blindest and most incorrigible prejudices "respecting principles of the highest moment" and of "building his own political monument at the ruin of all contemporary and all rival reputations".⁴³ A long defence of the policy of Sir Francis Head logically followed this arraignment.⁴⁴ Condemnation of Durham continued in succeeding issues, on the basis of evidence found in the Canadian documents, which denounced his arrogance, professed omniscience, and fretful selfishness.⁴⁵

Head's *Narrative* provided also broader grounds for criticism. The Melbourne government then became the main subject of attack on account of "its real or affected incapacity to penetrate the mask of a prepared and organized rebellion in the North American provinces". And Durham's *Report* was declared "full of this assumption of stubborn incredulity of which no man gifted with common honesty and average discernment could easily mistake the nature".⁴⁶ The sympathy for the liberals in Upper Canada expressed in the *Report* was considered erroneous and "offensive", and his scheme for giving responsible government to these rebels was then called "monstrously absurd and purblind". "Suppose", continued the editor, "the supreme government of

³⁹*Ibid.*, II, 287.

⁴⁰*The Times*, editorial, Feb. 13, 1839.

⁴¹*The Standard*, editorial, Feb. 9, 1839.

⁴²*Ibid.*, editorial, Feb. 26, 1839.

⁴³*The Times*, editorial, Feb. 18, 1839.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, editorial, Feb. 20, 1839.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, editorial, Feb. 26, 1839.

Great Britain required one course of policy from its colonial officers and the Colonial Assembly to demand a set of measures diametrically opposite,—which is to be the sovereign power, the Imperial Parliament, or the provincial majority? Is a Canadian governor to be impeached by the assembly of the province for doing that which the Imperial Parliament enjoins?"⁴⁷

More vitriolic and less intelligent criticism of the *Report* appeared in *The Times* and the *Standard*⁴⁸ through the medium of seven letters written to Durham and signed "A Colonist". The writer was the then famous Nova Scotian humourist, Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, who had been delegated by the Canadian Tories to attack and beat the *Report*.⁴⁹ As wrathful and self-conscious sarcasm, these letters were masterpieces; as destructive criticism, they were failures. Haliburton not only made himself ridiculous through his superficial study of Durham's work but he aroused the ire of his fellow colonials.⁵⁰ He condemned the former high commissioner as an impractical theorist, inaccurate in his facts, and subject to the influence of unreliable persons. The *Report*, he claimed, might have been written from public documents in England, so little evidence did Durham give of having visited the colonies.⁵¹ He blithely denounced a federal union of the Canadas, failing to note that Durham had not advocated it.⁵² And he viewed responsible government with misgivings similar to those of Sir Francis Head:

However this theory may apply to Great Britain it is shere nonsense as regards a dependent state. . . . The power of a governor is a delegated power, and if it be designed that it have a useful and independent action, it must be held responsible only to the authority that delegated it and not to the parties governed. . . . If a governor is to be controlled by his council and that council amenable to the assembly, then the assembly controls the governor and it is no longer a dependent but an independent state.⁵³

The comments of *John Bull* and the *Quarterly review* were equally reactionary and in the case of the latter more deliberately malicious. Both gave extraordinary praise of Head's *Narrative*. *John Bull* viewed it joyously as being more injurious to the Melbourne ministry than Durham's "memorial".⁵⁴ The *Quarterly* endorsed

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*The Times* and the *Standard*, Feb. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 26, 1839.

⁴⁹New, *Lord Durham*, 516-7.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 529.

⁵¹*The Times*, Feb. 18, 1839.

⁵²*Lord Durham's report*, II, 304-5; New, *Lord Durham*, 517.

⁵³*The Times*, Feb. 22, 1839. Partially quoted by New, *Lord Durham*, 518.

⁵⁴*John Bull*, March 4, 1839.

Head's inadequate and uncomprehending proposals for reforms in Canada as "the safest and most satisfactory" of plans.⁵⁵ Both misread and misinterpreted Lord Durham's *Report*. In his scheme for responsible government, they saw democratic principles to be feared and despised. Such a system should be clearly understood as a treacherous way of handing Canada over to the Americans.⁵⁶ It "must be utterly rejected", the *Quarterly* maintained. "It is a farrago of false statements and false principles . . . the most fatal legacy that could have been bequeathed to our American colonies."⁵⁷

The liberal journals struck a very different note. Knowing that Durham and the ministry were standing together, their policy was to support the *Report* from the beginning. The *Morning chronicle*, as has been noted, rapidly published the *Report* in full, and supplemented the text with a long editorial comment. Its approach was practical. The late insurrections in Canada had led to the conviction that England could not retain the colonies without a complete change in the system of government. Lord Durham's bold schemes were justly entitled to consideration. "His principal suggestions", the granting of municipal institutions, and of responsible government to the Canadas, should be "carried into effect". Likewise, the idea of a legislative union was to be heartily commended as the only means by which collision between the two provinces could be prevented. "We must either govern them [the colonies] on principles approved by the colonists themselves or spare ourselves the mortification of parting in a discreditable manner, by voluntarily renouncing our sovereignty."⁵⁸

The *Chronicle* further maintained "There is but one opinion with respect to the *Report*, that it is one of the most valuable papers ever laid before Parliament, and all who have the interest of the empire at heart must rejoice that the *Report* opens so fair a prospect of placing a connection between the parent state and these valuable colonies on a footing, which by conducing to the welfare of both, can alone insure its permanency."⁵⁹ Such a point of view naturally deplored the carping criticism of the *Report* in the house of lords. The *Chronicle* also lost no opportunity to parry the attacks on Durham with direct quotations from other

⁵⁵*Quarterly review*, March, 1839, LXIII, 504.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 516; New, *Lord Durham*, 522; *John Bull*, Sept. 23, 1839.

⁵⁷*Quarterly review*, March, 1839, 505-6. Quoted also by New, *Lord Durham*, 522.

⁵⁸*Morning chronicle*, editorial, Feb. 11, 1839.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, editorial, Feb. 16, 1839.

sympathetic journals⁶⁰ and from letters whose writer was solicitous of the fate of Canada, in the hands of gaming politicians.⁶¹ Furthermore, Sir Francis Head's *Narrative* received scant recognition in the *Chronicle*, except the notation that the book gave evidence of important omissions in its documentary records,⁶² a fact later admitted by *The Times*.⁶³

The *Evening globe* also denounced the personal petulance of the lords,⁶⁴ but was less ardent in its support of the *Report*. It saw in Head's *Narrative* a useful supplement to Durham's work on the subject of Canadian radicalism,⁶⁵ and it accepted Haliburton's letters as warrants of local accuracy, though it rejected his general statements of principles.⁶⁶

The *Examiner* followed the *Chronicle*, as *John Bull* *The Times*. In its first number, after the publication of the first instalments of the *Report*, it deferred detailed judgment of the "important document", but printed two columns of Durham's proposed remedial measures, and commented prophetically,—"nothing can be better than the statesmanlike tone and the temper of this masterly document, and it would be impossible, we think, to rate too highly the influence it is likely to exercise."⁶⁷ The next issue published a full page of quotations from the *Correspondence relative to the affairs of British North America*, carefully selected to show the questions at issue between Durham and the ministry during Durham's sojourn in Canada. It continued, however, to reserve its judgment on the whole Canadian question.⁶⁸ When Head's *Narrative* appeared, it was relegated to the book-review section of the weekly and discussed as "scantily provided with wisdom",—"full of humor and rich amusement".⁶⁹ In no way was it viewed as an important political revelation. Consistently, the *Examiner* continued to withhold all comment on the political principles of Durham's *Report* throughout the entire year of 1839. Not even in June, when Lord Russell introduced his bill in parliament for the union of Upper and Lower Canada, did Albany Fonblanque break his silence with more than a flippant remark.⁷⁰ This policy

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, Feb. 15 and 16, 1839.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, letter to the editor, Feb. 21, 1839.

⁶²*Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1839.

⁶³*The Times*, March 7, 1839.

⁶⁴*The Globe*, editorial, Feb. 21, 1839.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, editorial, Feb. 28, 1839.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, editorial, Feb. 21, 1839.

⁶⁷*The Examiner*, Feb. 10, 1839.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1839.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, March 3 and 10, 1839.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, June 9, 1839.

of the *Examiner* was carried still further by the *Edinburgh review*. That avowed defender of liberal principles did not discuss directly or indirectly Lord Durham's *Report* or any of the issues which it raised, in its four numbers of 1839.⁷¹

The radical papers were more vociferous than the liberals. The chief advocate of colonial reform, the *Spectator*, was completely satisfied with the *Report*, claiming that for the first time, the grievances of the colonists were stated with candour and with accuracy by an English statesman who furthermore proposed remedies which were at once "bold and moderate", sufficient to meet the needs of the colonies, but not involving unnecessary or extreme change. The idea of a legislative union of the two Canadas offered justice and order to both parties. And the underlying principle of the *Report*, that of "Government responsible to the governed", was to be attained through means so moderate that no political party which desired the well-being of British North America could object. The *Report*, it asserted, "will be a most valuable textbook for Colonial Reforms in time to come—it has sapped the very foundation of our wretched Colonial system".⁷² In the next issue, the *Spectator* used the *Correspondence*, to show the vacillating policy of the ministry towards the great ex-high commissioner, and the selfishness and fear which motivated their acts.⁷³ And, after the style of the *Examiner*, Rintoul disposed of Head's *Narrative* in a book-review, discussing merely the style and plan of the volume.⁷⁴

A narrative, however, and Haliburton's *Bubbles of Canada*⁷⁵ became the subjects of an article in the *Westminster review*. Here Sir Francis Head is the victim of a scathing criticism, in factual accuracy almost as faulty as his own. It is pointed out that his past and present statements are not merely at variance with each other, but are contradicted by public records, and carefully documented proof is submitted that Lord Durham and not Sir Francis is correct concerning the control of elections in Upper Canada during Head's term as governor.⁷⁶ The article was primarily an

⁷¹This may have been due to Lord Brougham. His influence over Napier was strong (Elliott, *Reviews and magazines in the early years of the 19th century*). Brougham's hostility to Durham was great. Furthermore, he had spoken critically of the *Report* to Macaulay on Feb. 13, claiming that Durham had not written it (*New, Lord Durham*, 566).

⁷²The *Spectator*, Feb. 9, 1839.

⁷³*Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1839.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, March 2, 1839.

⁷⁵Published by Judge Haliburton on the eve of the appearance of the *Report*, 1839, with the hope of killing it in advance (*New, Lord Durham*, 516).

⁷⁶*Westminster review*, April, 1839, XXXII, 434-5; *Lord Durham's report*, II, 156-62. Subsequent evidence procured by a committee of the assembly does not sustain Durham's charge (Smith, *Political leaders in Upper Canada*, 143).

indictment of Head, but served also to repel the Tory attacks on Durham, which condemned his inaccuracies and prejudices.

* * * *

To generalize, on the basis of this limited study, concerning the rôle of newspapers in the moulding of public opinion on the question of Canadian reforms would be presumptuous. It is impossible to estimate how much the widespread publication of the text of Lord Durham's *Report* determined the public action which, within two years, put into operation in Canada some of the Durham recommendations. John Stuart Mill attributes this successful outcome in no small measure to his own support of Lord Durham in the *Westminster review*.⁷⁷ Perhaps this contemporary tribute to the power of a section of the press may be extended to the whole institution.

It was due, however, to the political crisis not to the vision of the editors of the day that the entire *Report* was so widely published. The public, thus by chance, gained a primary knowledge of Durham's work. The meagre editorial comments regarding the document give little evidence that the journalists appreciated or wished their readers to comprehend its far-reaching importance. The opinions of the press here recorded, when considered in relation to the entire contents of the papers from which they came, represent but a fraction of both the interests and the space of the journals. As long as the *Report* occasioned sprightly or vituperative discussion in parliament, it had profitable news value. This continued fairly regularly throughout February, 1839. After that, all discussion of the significance of the *Report* in the daily press ceased.

Granted that the journals were more absorbed in domestic than in colonial questions, that the Chartist movement and free trade were more vital problems to England than a new system of government for Canada, little excuse seems possible for the inaccurate or superficial reading of the *Report* which the papers so generally reflect. Not one paper attempted an analysis of the document as a whole. Political bias and personal prejudice defined the tone and trend of editorial opinion. It was an age of vivid, empty phrase-making. Neither fulsome praise nor spiteful criticism was supported by careful scholarship. Hasty judgments, then as now, were the privilege of the press.

Much that in historical retrospect seems to merit careful con-

⁷⁷Mill, *Autobiography*, 216-7; *Westminster review*, Dec., 1838, XXXIII, 241-60.

sideration was ignored by contemporary opinion. Durham's "breadth of view, his strong healthy imperialism, his confidence in the English race, his love of and pride in the British Empire",⁷⁸ should have aroused the patriots of the day. Yet only the *Spectator* glimpsed the far-reaching consequences of the new imperial order which the *Report* would establish. The nationalistic Tories were too shocked by the proposed changes in colonial policy to be aware of Durham's profound patriotism. And the Whigs saw only practical politics in his schemes.

Durham's proposal for responsible government in the Canadas, so revolutionary in even a post-mercantilist world, though seized upon by most of the journals, was never thoroughly discussed. Little effort was made to understand the possible relationship between the home and the colonial governments. And the reservation of certain powers for the queen and parliament was not even mentioned in the ten papers here considered. Equally strange does it seem that Durham's prophetic vision of the union and expansion of all the British provinces of North America brought but trifling comment from these master-editors of the day.

History has shown that the *Report* of the Earl of Durham inaugurated a new colonial order. The British press published far and wide the text of its principles. But neither Lord Durham nor the British public owes gratitude to the ten leading journals of 1839 for furthering an understanding of the nascent imperial policy.

GRACE FOX

⁷⁸Lucas, *Lord Durham's report*, I, 119.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

SOME LETTERS OF JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS ON RECIPROCITY

WHEN the question of the renewal of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 arose, Radical Republicans in the United States senate voted against it in retaliation for what they termed "the British attitude toward the South during the war". The letters which follow are selected from the papers of Joshua R. Giddings,¹ abolitionist, who for twenty years was a militant anti-slavery congressman from Ohio. Giddings opposed the annexation of Texas because it would extend slave territory but he would have favoured the annexation of Canada as free soil.

Giddings took an active part in the Republican campaign of 1860 and as a reward Lincoln appointed him consul-general in Canada, stationed in Montreal. His attitude on the question of reciprocity is clearly set forth in these letters to his son, who acted as vice-consul in his absence, and to whom he could write without reservation. Giddings was in Washington in the early months of 1864 when the question of the renewal of the treaty was discussed in congress. That his efforts in opposition to the treaty were not without effect is reflected in the action of the senate in its abrogation.

The bitterness which rankled in Giddings's heart as a result of his arrest in Montreal helped to prejudice his view of the effects of the treaty. He was arrested in connection with the kidnapping of W. J. Louis Redpath, from Montreal, a British subject who had been employed in New York. A man, impersonating a Canadian officer, called upon Giddings in November, 1863, and told him that he needed assistance for the return of a dangerous criminal to the United States. Giddings addressed a note to the chief of police of New York suggesting that the assistant be paid upon delivery of the prisoner. Giddings's note was shown to Redpath, in lieu of a warrant, and he understood that Giddings had authorized his arrest. Redpath was taken to New York. After some days he was released, returned to Montreal, and had Giddings arrested. A trial was held in Montreal, December 18, 1863, and the motion of Giddings's attorneys "to quash the writ" was taken *en delibere* by the judge and as far as it can be ascertained

¹Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, *The Giddings papers*, VI.

nothing further was done. It appears that there was nothing in the case to justify any other inference against Giddings than that he may have acted too hastily in a matter about which he was imperfectly informed. He, however, considered himself the victim of a blackmail plot by Southern secessionists working in Montreal. Giddings died in Montreal on May 27, 1864.

WILLIAM D. OVERMAN

Jefferson Ohio
Jany 8, 1864

My Dear Son,

I reached home in safety but much wearied with my journey, on tuesday evening, and am resuming business today. The weather could not be more beautiful. Last night was perfectly clear yet there is this morning no crust on the snow, but the horison is without a Cloud and would do credit to the 28th March.

You may have noticed that Garfield presented a resolution calling for information touching my arrest. Spaulding in the House and Wade in the Senate will introduce bills for repealing all laws which authorize the transportation of goods to or from Canada, to European ports or from European ports. That will shut up the Canadas during five months of each year from exporting or importing goods from England The blow must fall heavily upon the commercial men of Montreal, and when they come to see it, there will be some excitement and I would like to be present but as you say it will cost something to travel there.

But I want you to be very dignified in regard to the matter. Say to our friends that while England was sending out armed ships to destroy our commerce the politicians and statesmen of Canada justified them. They sent out blockade runners, boasted that they were feeding the rebels, constantly spoke unkindly of our officers and army our President and Civil dignitaries. And when the Secession Press of Montreal avowed that some thirty officers and men [were] sent by the Confederate government to invade the United States and murder our people from Canadian Soil not a man was arrested or a protest uttered by even the most friendly papers of the Province. On the contrary they turned round and at the instance of a Skedadling mendicant arrested our Commercial representative[.]

And in less than ninety days, Members of Parliament and Ex-Minister Cartier are at Washington asking of us the favor to continue our *reciprocity treaty*. It is the most extraordinary State of things ever known among enlightened nations.

There is very little disposition in Congress to show any favors to Canada. Nor do I think there is any chance for Canada to enjoy any commercial favors at the hands of our government unless they manifest a different disposition from what they have shown in the past two years. There is at present more disposition to repay them by offensive measures than by keeping up those gratuitous privileges which they have so long enjoyed[.]

Now make yourself perfectly familiar with these facts. State them when called on with candor and let not the American name suffer from any want of plainness on your part, but be careful to be very cool and candid.

If the people of Montreal wish to do anything to avoid the results which now appear so probable let them call on the Provincial parliament to pass laws for punishing these who run the Blockade or violate our laws. And for the imprisonment and punishment of those who combine for the purpose of invading the United States with hostile designs and another prohibiting the arrest of any Consul at the suit of an individual. Let the Canadian parliament act according to the dictates of friendship before asking favors at our hands.

JRGIDDINGS

J. A. Giddings

copy to W. H. Seward
Oct. 16, 1863

U. S. Consulate General,
Montreal October 13th, 1863.

Unofficial.
Sir.

Although it is no part of my official duties to report upon the political aspect of these Provinces. Yet I doubt not that it will be gratifying to the Executive to understand the feelings and opinions of leading men of Canada[.]

First, It has been sometime obvious that circumstances were rapidly tending to a separation of these Provinces from the imperial Government.

During the summer this feeling which one year since was confined to a few leading minds, may be said to have become somewhat common and quite strong.

The very strong warlike feeling that arose in England on the subject of the Trent had its effect here, and the English population exhibited

all that supercilious vanity which showed itself so conspicuously in England.

The Alabama went forth to prey upon our commerce while we were admitting the people of Canada to our markets free of duty. Reflecting men expressed their indignation in a quiet and rather confidential manner but the real English generally justified the British Ministry.

But since Earl Russel has detained the Confederate rams thereby acknowledging his obligation to have detained the Alabama, many Englishmen express their disgust at having been so nearly drawn into an unjust war by the aristocracy of England.

These men desire our government to express its independence by closing our reciprocity treaty, and leading minds of both Provinces are anxious that our warehouse and bonding system shall be repealed in order that the British Element may understand the value of American Commercial friendship[.]

They believe that such a course on our part will promptly sever the bonds which now bind the Canadas to the Mother Country[.]

In this view I heartily concur—

With great respect

I have the honor to be

Your obt Servt.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS

W. H. Seward
Secretary of State

Confidential

Washington City
January 17, 1864

My Dear Son

When I saw that members of the Canadian Parliament were here to secure the renewal of the Reciprocity treaty I at once left for this disolute city determined to arouse our government to such a sense of its own dignity as will teach our Canadian neighbors that while England sends out her ships under secession flags to prey upon our Commerce, and Canada sends her blockade runners to feed and clothe the rebels and her presses are constantly slandering our President and officers and imprisoning our Consuls General at the instance of skedadlers from our States, I think it most extraordinary for them to call on us to continue to hold our markets open for their produce free of duty.

All their communications should have regularly been made through my office[.] Yet while I was held under arrest I should have expected it would be somewhat humiliating for them to call on me to communicate for them.

Mr Cartier is still here. He approaches Sumner, as Sumner is the only man who talks french fluently.

Now you may understand that I shall make the Canadian government feel the insult offered ours by my arrest. I may fail, but if I fail understand that it is for want of *ability*.

It is not improbable that tomorrow will bring out some public action. But it will be nothing more than a resolution calling on the department for information as to the fact of my imprisonment.

I think it will probably create some little sensation in Montreal as I dont believe they expect any such movement[.]

If there be any speculation, say *promptly* and *plainly* that *the arrest* was regarded as insulting to me and to our government. And declare to them that I make no objection to being sued in their courts just as any resident may be. But when they arrest and imprison me at the suit of a Skedadler and take me from my Consulate and thus interrupt the commerce of the nation, they insult the government of the U S as well as myself[.]

I cannot say when the feeling aroused in the breast of some of our members of Congress may end, that is not a matter for me to consider. They commenced the insult and they must end it. We shall return no insulting language, but I hope that all *commercial intercourse between us and them* may cease until such treaty stipulations may be entered into as will sever our government from such insults in future.

They may give the matter a hostile aspect. I hope we shall not.

Laura and Mr Julian send kind love

Affectionately

JOSHUA R GIDDINGS

J. A. Giddings

Washington City

Jany 23, 1864

Private

My Dear Son

The feeling here is very strong against the Canadas. You may set down the reciprocity treaty as defunct. There will probably be a

proposition to recal our Consular offices from Canada and leave them without the means of obtaining Consular certificates and bills will be introduced for r[e]pealing all laws which permit the transportation of goods from foreign ports through the United States to a[nd] from the Canadas. This will cut off the present mode of carrying on their commerce with England for some four or five months in the year. It will be most disastrous to their Commerce.

The politicians and people of Montreal I presume have no apprehensions or suspicions on the subject. I presume when they find out what is to be done there will be some excitement and I want to be there just at the *right time* and want you to let me know when the papers begin to talk on the subject.

In the mean time you and our friend should coolly say that we in the United States are under no obligation to show any favors to a people who run the blockade and feed the rebels and harbor those sent by the rebel secretary of the navy to invade our territory and kill our people and arrest our Consular representative, and take him *from the duties of his office*. On this point be careful to say that no one would have objected to my being sued and my property made liable to any judg[men]t that might have been obtained but the insult consisted in my arrest and legal imprisonment. . . .

And if Cartier and their members of Parliament suppose they can intrigue the present Congress into a renewal of the reciprocity treaty while imprisoning our Consul General or holding him in bond they should patiently await developments.

In short I wish Mr Stevens Mr Howes Mr Gould and John Young to understand that Congress has quite as much respect for an old and long tried Servant who has full knowledge of our national offices as it has for the members of a Canadian parliament who call for favors of our government while [they] send out blockade runners and from England ships of war to destroy our commerce.

Really the impudence of John Bull is most admirable, but I think Congress will not be gulled by him much longer.

Write me on receipt of this

Affectionately

JOSHUA R GIDDINGS

Jefferson Ohio

Feby 8, 1864

My Dear Son

I feel anxious in regard to your report on the reciprocity treaty[.] Dont be in a hurry about it. Get every fact, write it out and send it

to me for amendment and suggestion. Get a Copy of Thurstons report on the Canal Tolls. Read the reports and agreements heretofore made. Dont forget to mention that our anthracite coal exported from Pennsylvania was and is carried to Nassau to supply Blockade runners with fuel that give out *no smoke*, so as to enable them to evade our ships

Again the great and principal item of export to Canada is *wheat*. This is sent from Ohio Michigan Indiana Illinois and Wisconsin, and from this export the people of those States derive a small advantage[.] But this advantage is at the expense of the millers of the United States who should have the profits of manufacturing the flour in stead of conferring these profits on Canadian Millers. It also takes from our ship owners the profits of transportation to Europe and sends the flour there in British bottoms thereby swelling British Commerce while her people are sending out piratical ships to drive our Commerce from the ocean. Indeed the great bulk of our exports to Canada merely Confer advantages on our enemies and the Coal is used to assist the rebels.

. . . . The present treaty will be closed I think without fail but your report will serve as a basis for the next should one be made.

. . . .

Affectionately

JRG

Montreal April 29, 1864

My Dear Son

. . . .

The next evening after I reached Montreal I believe I informed you that Minister Buchanan of Hamilton had an interview with me on the subject and in regard to the reciprocity treaty. I told him that I thought the Coal might be had if the Canadian government would prohibit its exportation so as to keep our government safe. He said they would do so and that the Executive Council would and must act upon it at once. I saw however that he was a garrulous Scotchman placing a higher estimate upon his own talents than probably anybody else.

This proved true for the next day he went to Cartier with whose character you are acquainted. He at once saw that such enactment would offend Secessionists, and it would prohibit them from sending Coal to Nassau to aid the rebels. Coal merchants consulted me and I sent them to Cartier saying they could get coal if the Canadian government would prohibit its re-exportation. The Ex-Ministry agree with Buchanan. Petitions are circulating asking parliament to prohibit the

exportation of Coal in order that the factories throughout the Provinces may continue business and avoid ruin? And before Cartier enters upon his official duties in the new Ministry he is in the hottest kind of water. I dont know whether the government of Canada holds the power or not, nor do I care. The agitation will show the people their interest which they have in keeping up friendly relations with the United States and is gradually severing the bonds that bind them to Old England, and hastening the day of their independence.

Love to all

Affectionately

JOSHUA R GIDDINGS

JAGiddings

PROPOSALS TO TRANSFER THE FRENCH POPULATION OF CANADA TO LOUISIANA

Several memoirs in the French archives¹ reveal an important and hitherto little noticed proposal in regard to Canada and Louisiana near the end of the Seven Years' War. They suggest the emigration of the French population of Canada to the Ohio Valley and the retention by France of all the territory west of the Appalachians. The memoirs are anonymous, but Choiseul's known advocacy of the plan in the autumn of 1761² renders them worthy of consideration.

The first of these documents, dated February, 1759, is a ministerial report on the proposed emigration.³ Three years were to be allowed for the transfer, the Canadians to move in four groups. The first contingent was to establish itself from Fort aux Boeufs to the Ohio and the territory around Fort Duquesne, the second between the Ohio and the Wabash, a city to be constructed at the union of these two rivers. The final migration was to be in two groups, one to stop at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the other to go by water to New Orleans and from there to Manchac, where a new capital for Louisiana would be built.

¹Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *États-Unis*, supplement VI, folios 39-88 (photostats in the library of congress).

²Arthur S. Aiton, "The diplomacy of the Louisiana cession" (*American historical review*, XXXVI, 1931, 705). I am also indebted to Professor Aiton for certain notes which he generously placed at my disposal.

³*États-Unis*, supplement VI, folios 39-48: "Examen du projet de faire passer les habitants du Canada à la Louisiane".

The ministry gave these suggestions a cool reception. Canada was held to be a check on England and worthy of retention. Furthermore, its cession would render the valuable Ohio country practically inaccessible, as it could be reached only by going up the Mississippi. It was argued that Louisiana could not prosper without slaves, but that a large servile population would reduce the opportunities for white settlers. Finally, Louisiana could not replace Canada as a counterpoise against the English colonies.

Plans for the emigration were set forth in far greater detail in an undated memoir of the same period⁴ by an author who stated that he had previously urged the abandonment of Canada. Here one finds all the meticulous care and detail so characteristic of the *ancien régime*. The people were to be settled in the new country by villages, just as they had lived in Canada. Those on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, who were to go first, were to be divided into two groups, the workers going ahead in May with the livestock, tools, and seed. Troops and Indians would precede them in April to clear the way and make a road for the carts. The other party would follow after the harvest. The following year the inhabitants of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers would leave Canada, these likewise emigrating to the new country in two groups. The Montreal people were to settle at the union of the Miami and the Ohio, those from Three Rivers at the union of the Cumberland and the Ohio, and those from Quebec at the union of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

An extensive programme of government aid was proposed. The Illinois country, already inhabited, could furnish grain. The authorities should buy seed there and send out a thousand men to plant a big crop, a third of this harvest to be saved for planting. The newly grown grain could be sent by river to the three sites where cities were to be constructed. To each of these places there should go an engineer to plan the city, a hundred workmen, including carpenters, sawyers, millers, smiths, brick-makers, bakers, ropemakers, tailors, and potters. Each city was to have a sawmill, two water mills, several grind-stones, medicines, iron, nails, forges, *etc.* Detached magazines for powder and grain were to be constructed. Three boats of a combination sail-and-oar type should be built in France and sent dismantled to Louisiana for the use of each city.

Great inducements were to be held out to the emigrants, including tax exemption in perpetuity by the king and half again

⁴*Ibid.*, folios 49-59.

as much land as they had in Canada. *Métayers* were to be attached to their former masters for five years. Masters would receive free supplies for their households from the state magazines. Free trade with the Indians was to be extended to all inhabitants, and there were to be no export taxes on products sent from the colony. The farmers general would buy all the tobacco of good quality. Natives of Languedoc were to be sent out with a view to introducing silk culture, and Provençals were to initiate the growing of olives.

The minutest directions were given for fortifying the country from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico. These fortresses were to have outer and inner walls of brick, between which were to be placed solid wood and dirt. The three cities placed at river junctures would naturally have water on three sides, and a canal could be cut across the peninsulas to give water protection on the fourth side. It was planned to build a fort and a city at the juncture of the Alabama and Mobile Rivers. There the soldiers and settlers would be encouraged to intermarry with the Choctaws who were represented as being devoted to the French.

Soon after the fall of Louisbourg another memoir urged the transplanting of the Canadians.⁵ It was argued that Canada contributed nothing to the wealth of the mother country and that there was no reason to keep it. The sixty thousand people then in Canada would grow rich in the fertile Louisiana country. However, Newfoundland, St. Lucia, or Tobago must be exacted in exchange for Canada.

Another author of the same period speaks with greater eloquence:

The loss of Canada is nothing, but the loss of its inhabitants is irreparable . . . In peopling Louisiana France will reap riches and place an insurmountable barrier to the ambition of the English. This colony will sustain the other French possessions and carry on trade with the Spaniards. A navy will be established there which will take from the English the superiority they enjoy in these waters, make them tremble for Jamaica, and destroy the commerce this island carries on in the Gulf of Mexico.⁶

The writer also felt that the development of Louisiana would be a guarantee of the safety of St. Domingo.⁷ This suggestion of using Louisiana as a base of supplies for the French colonies in the West Indies is very interesting, for this was one of the reasons why Napoleon wished to recover the Mississippi Valley in 1800.

⁵*Ibid.*, folios 61-2.

⁶*Ibid.*, folio 67.

⁷*Ibid.*, folios 71-3.

By the summer of 1761 the plan to move the Canadians was considered more seriously than before. It was now obvious that Canada would have to be ceded if Great Britain demanded it, but the ministry still hoped to save the Ohio and the Mississippi Valleys. It was proposed that the boundary between Canada and Louisiana be a line from the mouth of the Perdido River to the western end of Lake Erie, then by the eastern end of Lake Huron to the side of Hudson Bay toward Lake Abitibi.⁸ A memoir composed in June estimated that there were forty thousand people in Canada and that these would create such a flourishing colony along the Mississippi that France would not regret the loss of her other North American possessions, save for the injury to the fishing trade.⁹ Ten thousand people in Louisiana would mean more to the metropole than fifty thousand in Canada. This memoir, like the one of February, 1759, urged the government to hold out inducements to the Canadians. It was felt that their natural antipathy to the English would not be sufficient to lead them to emigrate unless they were given material assistance. The settlers would be allowed a third or a fourth more land than they formerly held, tax exemption for twenty years, and free food and shelter for the first year. Skilled artisans would be sent from France, and negro slaves would be introduced at government expense, their purchasers being allowed five years to pay for them. By September 15 of each year those who wished to go the following spring should declare themselves, and France would secure the right of maintaining commissioners at Quebec and Montreal until the emigration could be completed. The suggested route for the journey was overland *via* the lakes and the Ohio, but those who preferred might go by sea from Quebec.

Choiseul's plans for Canada and Louisiana underwent several changes after 1759, but in the autumn of 1761 he seriously considered the emigration of the Canadians. Earlier in the summer he had proposed a cession of Louisiana to Spain in return for an early entrance into the war against England, or in return for a loan,¹⁰ but by autumn it seemed that Spain could not be hurried and that no large sum of money was available. Choiseul then thought of relinquishing Canada and retaining Louisiana as the nucleus of a new colonial development in North America. On

⁸*Ibid.*, doc. 17: "Mémoire sur les limites à donner à la Louisiane du côté des Angloises et du côté du Canada, en cas de cession de ce dernier pays".

⁹*Ibid.*, folios 74-8: "Moyen de peupler la Louisiane. Encouragements à donner aux habitans du Canada pour passer au Mississippi".

¹⁰Aiton, "The diplomacy of the Louisiana cession", 705.

December 15, he wrote as follows to the Marquis d'Ossun, the French ambassador at Madrid:

It is certain that this colony merits a closer attention than has been accorded it up to the present. I am informed as to its fertility, and the mildness and healthfulness of the climate, and when circumstances permit, I shall neglect none of the advantages that a colony so useful can produce. We have already thought of emigration from Canada to Louisiana, but this emigration can not take place until after the peace. You will appreciate all the reasons political and economic for this. You are informed that we intend to send aid to Louisiana. It is ready to leave and will be there certainly in the month of January.¹¹

As early as September, Choiseul in agreeing to the cession of Canada had proposed that an eighteen-month period be allowed for the emigration and for the sale of the settlers' property in Canada.¹² But in a few months he had agreed to cede Canada and eastern Louisiana to England, and French interest in North America was sacrificed for West Indian possessions and peace in Europe. The rest of Louisiana was soon given to Spain.

With the Peace of Paris, of course, the plan to transplant the Canadians to the Ohio and the Mississippi came to an end. Yet the proposal was practical, and its execution did not offer insuperable difficulties. Had the migration occurred, the history of the United States and Canada would have been affected profoundly. Who can say what the two countries would be like to-day if there were no French element in Canada, or if some three million French-speaking people lived along the Ohio and the Mississippi? Before these possibilities one's imagination runs riot. That such an emigration was contemplated cannot fail to be of interest to every student of North American history.

E. WILSON LYON

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, ECONOMICS, AND LAW

We present herewith our ninth annual list of graduate theses which have reference to Canadian history, economics, imperial relations, and law and which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. In the compilation of this list we have received the co-operation of over a hundred universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, France, Germany, and Canada, and we wish to express our appreciation of their

¹¹Translated by Professor Aiton (*ibid.*, 711-2).

¹²*Ibid.*, 705, footnote.

generous interest and support. Although the information which we present cannot be complete, we feel that it serves a useful purpose in indicating the scope and type of graduate research which is being done in Canadian history and allied subjects. We should be glad to have any mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

ALISON EWART

THESES FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- S. A. ANDERSON, A.B. Upsala 1927; A.M. Clark 1928. The economic background of the Viking voyages. *Columbia*.
- CHARLES A. ANNIS, B. Com. Toronto 1930; A.M. Cornell 1933. Canadian tariff and commercial policy. *Cornell*.
- ELIZABETH ARMSTRONG, A.B. Barnard 1920; A.M. Columbia 1923. French-Canadian nationalism. *Columbia*.
- R. W. BARNWELL, A.B. South Carolina 1926; A.M. 1928. The Loyalists of South Carolina. *Duke*.
- NEIL H. BAXTER, A.B. Butler 1922; A.M. Chicago 1927. Laurier's influence in British imperial relations. *Iowa*.
- H. P. BEERS, S.B. Lafayette 1930; A.M. Pennsylvania 1931; Ph.D. Feb., 1935. The western military frontier, 1815-1846. *Pennsylvania*.
- JOSAPHAT BENOIT. L'âme franco-américaine. *Université de Paris*.
- IRENE MARY BISS, B.A. Cambridge 1928. The history of the development of electrical power in Canada. *Toronto*.
- LALLA R. BOONE, A.B. Texas 1917; A.M. California 1922. Captain George Vancouver on the Northwest Coast. *California*.
- W. R. BRIDGEWATER, A.B. Rice Institute 1928; A.M. 1930. The American Fur Company. *Yale*.
- J. D. BRITE, A.B. Wyoming 1922; A.M. Chicago 1924. The attitude of the European states toward emigration to the American colonies. *Chicago*.
- J. J. BURNS, A.B. Catholic 1932; A.M. 1933. Colonial agents of New England. *Catholic*.
- F. W. BURTON, B.A. Toronto 1930; A.M. Harvard 1933. The grain trade of Canada, 1783 onward, especially the technology and geography of production. *Toronto*.
- HELEN B. BURTON, A.B. Wisconsin 1927; A.M. 1928. Joseph Chamberlain as colonial secretary. *Wisconsin*.
- HAZEL D. BURWASH, B.A. Oxford 1931; A.M. Mount Holyoke 1933. La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, 1627-1663. *Bryn Mawr*.
- M. da S. S. CARDOZO, A.B. Stanford 1931; A.M. 1934. Earliest Portuguese voyages to America. *Stanford*.
- PAUL OMEGA CARR, S.B. Kirkville 1923; A.M. Iowa 1927; Ph.D. 1932. The defense of the frontier, 1760-1775. *Iowa*. (Abstract in *University of Iowa studies, Studies in the social sciences*, X, no. 3, 1934.)
- LAUREN W. CASADAY, A.B. California at Los Angeles 1927. Labor problems of the salmon canning industry of the Pacific coast. *California*.
- JOHN KNIGHT COCHRAN, A.B. Wisconsin 1931; A.M. Wisconsin 1932; Sir Arthur Gordon, first Lord Stanmore, as colonial governor. *Wisconsin*.
- HAROLD E. CONRAD, A.B. Brown 1927; A.M. Clark 1929; Ph.D. Toronto 1935. The Loyalist experiment in New Brunswick. *Toronto*.
- J. I. COOPER, M.A. Western Ontario 1933. French-Canadian Conservatism in principle and practice, 1873-1896. *McGill*.
- ALBERT B. COREY, B.A. Acadia 1922; M.A. 1923; A.M. Harvard 1923; Ph.D. Clark 1934. Relations of Canada with the United States from 1830-1842. *Clark*. (Abstract in *Clark University abstracts of dissertations and theses*, 1934.)
- C. W. CROWELL, A.B. River Falls Teachers College 1930; A.M. Iowa 1933. Edward Randolph, a royal official in the colonial service 1675-1703. *Iowa*.
- J. T. CULLITON, B.A. Saskatchewan 1926; M.A. McGill 1927. Land settlement in western Canada. *McGill*.
- F. O. DARVALL, B.A. London 1926; B.A. Reading 1928. Public opinion and war, with special reference to the War of 1812. *Columbia*.

- DONALD DAVIDSON, B.A. British Columbia 1933. The British fur traders on the Pacific slope, 1793-1846. *California*.
- A. DEEN, A.B. DePauw 1911; A.M. 1920. Culture in the Old Northwest. *Indiana*.
- JOHN DELANGLEZ, S.J., A.B. Gonzaga (Spokane) 1926; A.M. 1927. The Society of Jesus in French Louisiana, to 1763. *Catholic*.
- DANIEL B. DE LOACH, B.S. Oregon State Agricultural College 1927; A.M. California 1932. The salmon canning industry with particular reference to marketing. *California*.
- R. O. DEMOND, A.B., A.M. Syracuse. The Loyalists of North Carolina. *Duke*.
- JESSE S. DOUGLAS, A.B. Oregon 1931; A.M. 1932. Military posts in the Oregon territory, 1846-1898. *Minnesota*.
- JEROME CLARENCE FITZGERALD, B.A. Toronto 1917. Problems in Canadian administrative law. *Toronto* (Law).
- A. R. FOLEY, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Wisconsin 1924. The French-Canadian invasion of New England. *Harvard*.
- JOAN M. V. FOSTER, B.A. McGill 1923; M.A. 1925; B.A. Oxford 1927; M.A. 1931. Reciprocity and imperial preference in the Laurier administration 1891-1911. *Bryn Mawr*.
- G. M. GATES, A.B. Yale 1926; A.M. Harvard 1928. A study of the diplomacy of the Treaty of Ghent. *Minnesota*.
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-1867. *Radcliffe*.
- M. GIRAUD. L'ouest canadien: Histoire de la découverte et de la colonisation. *Université de Paris*.
- H. GOLDEN, B.A. Manitoba 1923; M.A. 1924; A.M. Harvard 1926. The rise of popular culture in old Canada, to 1850. *Harvard*.
- ERNEST CLARKE GOULD, B.A. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1934. The influence of the United States in the Confederation of Canada. *Toronto*.
- ALEXANDRE GOULET, Ph.D. Université de Paris. 1934. Une nouvelle France en Nouvelle Angleterre. *Université de Paris*.
- PAUL-HENRI GUIMONT, B.A. Séminaire de Québec 1927; Science de Sciences Commerciales, Montréal 1930. Canadian tariffs. *Harvard*.
- L. A. HARPER, A. B. California 1922; A.M. 1924. The enforcement of the Navigation Acts in England and America, 1660-1696. *Columbia*.
- E. G. HAVENS, B.S. Purdue 1932; M.A. Harvard 1934. The administration of Sir James Craig. *Minnesota*.
- R. HIDEY, A.B. Miami 1926; A.M. Clark 1928. Baring Brothers and Company. *Harvard*.
- G. T. HUNT, A.B. Peru State Teachers College (Nebraska) 1927; A.M. Nebraska 1932. Intertribal relations among the Great Lakes Indians. *Wisconsin*.
- A. E. HUTCHESON, A.B. Reed 1925; A.M. California 1929. Nova Scotia in the 18th century—Economic and social. *Pennsylvania*.
- MARK K. INMAN, B.A. Acadia 1925; A.M. Harvard 1928. Experience in Canadian banking, 1929-1934. *Harvard*.
- H. JAMESON, A.B. Michigan 1921; A.M. 1925. Organization of militia in the American Revolution. *Michigan*.
- R. JAPP, B.A. St. Andrew's; M.A. McGill 1930. Education as an issue under the union, 1850-1863. *McGill*.
- H. P. JENKINS, B.A. Acadia 1927. An economic appraisal of colonial expansion. *Chicago*.
- LULU M. JOHNSON, A.B. Iowa 1929; A.M. 1930. Pro-slavery and anti-slavery agitation in the Old Northwest, 1787-1848. *Iowa*.
- OSCAR ARVLE KINCHEN, A.B. Oklahoma 1916; A.M. 1920. Lord John Russell and Canadian self-government, 1835-1841. *Iowa*. (Abstract in *University of Iowa studies, Studies in the social sciences*, X, no. 3, 1934.)
- CALVIN T. KRAFT, A.B. Harvard 1932; A.M. 1934. The financial relationship between the provinces and the Dominion of Canada. *Harvard*.
- LIONEL H. LAING, B.A. British Columbia 1929; M.A. Clark 1930; Ph.D. Harvard 1935. Merchant shipping legislation and admiralty jurisdiction in Canada. *Harvard*.
- ANDREW DONALD LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Macdonald and the policy of the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- DOROTHY LONG, B.A. Toronto 1923; M.A. 1928. Edward Ellice. *Toronto*.

- C. L. LUNDIN, A.B. Harvard 1929; A.M. 1931. New Jersey in the American Revolution. *Princeton*.
- ALICE E. LUNN, B.A. McGill 1932; M.A. 1933. Economic and social conditions in New France 1720-1763. *McGill*.
- D. W. LUSHER, B.A. McGill 1932; M.A. 1933. The problem of agriculture and the farmer in the Prairie Provinces. *McGill*.
- W. H. MCCLURE, A.B. Michigan 1928; A.M. Ohio State 1929. Opinion on the colonies and colonial policy in England during the Restoration, 1660-1689. *Michigan*.
- MARGUERITE M. MCKEE, A.B. Smith 1920; A.M. 1922. Supplies of the American army in the War of 1812. *Columbia*.
- ANDRUS A. MARCHBIN. The origin of the southeast European immigration to the North American continent. *Columbia*.
- J. S. MARTELL, B.A. King's 1932; M.A. Dalhousie 1933. Origins of self-government in Nova Scotia, 1815-1836. *London*.
- D. C. MASTERS, B.A. Toronto 1930; M.A. 1931; D. Phil. Oxford. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854: Its history and its relations to British colonial and foreign policy and to the development of Canadian fiscal autonomy. *Oxford*.
- E. S. MEANY, jr., A.B. Washington 1929; A.M. Harvard 1933. The history of the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest. *Harvard*.
- C. H. METZGER, A.B. St. Louis 1913; A.M. 1914; B.A. Oxford 1926; Ph.D. Michigan 1930. The toleration clauses of the Quebec Act. *Michigan*.
- M. MARIAN MITCHELL, B.A. British Columbia 1926; A.M. Clark 1927. William Knox and British colonial administration. *Columbia*.
- D. V. MORFORD, A.B. Indiana 1922; A.M. Wisconsin 1926. Detroit in the British administration of the west. *Michigan*.
- F. A. MORSE, A.B. Alfred 1932; A.M. Cornell 1933. The Jesuits as diplomatists, with special reference to the Jesuits in northern New York State. *Cornell*.
- W. O. MULLIGAN, M.A. Dalhousie; LL.B. Manitoba; B.D. Princeton. Sir Charles Bagot, a critical reconsideration of his career. *McGill*.
- SISTER M. DORIS MULVEY, A.B. Wisconsin 1924; A.M. 1925. French-Catholic missionaries in the present United States (1604-1791). *Catholic*.
- JEAN E. MURRAY, B.A. Saskatchewan 1922; M.A. 1923; M.A. Toronto 1924. The relation of the fur trade of New Netherland and New York to that of New France, to 1713. *Chicago*.
- HILDA NEATBY, B.A. Saskatchewan 1924; M.A. 1928; Ph.D. Minnesota 1934. The administration of justice under the Quebec Act, 1775-1791. *Minnesota*.
- F. T. NICHOLS, A.B. Dartmouth 1931; A.M. Harvard 1932. The Braddock campaign, 1754-1755. *Harvard*.
- ADELE OGDEN, A.B. California 1924; A.M. 1925. Maritime history of California 1790-1848. *California*.
- E. F. O'NEIL, A.B. Harvard 1931; A.M. Michigan 1932. The development of the idea of French encirclement in North America, to 1755. *Michigan*.
- MARGARET ORMSBY, B.A. British Columbia 1929; M.A. 1931. Relations between British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada, 1870-86. *Bryn Mawr*.
- HAROLD EUGENE PATTEN, A.B. California 1916; A.M. Columbia 1930. Economic aspects of the Ontario hydro-electric system. *Columbia*.
- J. E. PAUTZ, A.B. Northwestern 1916. The development of manufactures in the Great Lakes basin. *Columbia*.
- HENRI PERRAULT. Le sentiment national dans la littérature canadienne française moderne. *Université de Paris*.
- DONALD JOHN PIERCE, B.A. Queen's 1929; M.A. 1930. The historiography of French Canada. *Toronto*.
- J. S. PRENTICE, B.A. Queen's 1920; M.A. 1927. Canadian federal finance since 1900. *Chicago*.
- MARION L. RICE, A.B. Wyoming 1931; A.M. 1932. French and American business men in the American Revolution. *Chicago*.
- CLARA G. ROE, A.B. Michigan 1915; A.M. Chicago 1928. The "Friends of America" in England (1765-1775) and their relations to the colonial agents. *Michigan*.
- G. O. ROTNEY, B.A. Bishop's, Lennoxville, 1932. History of Newfoundland and the fisheries, 1781-1818. *London*.
- W. B. SCHNEIDER, A.B. Illinois 1924; A.M. 1926. Imperialism in English literature in the period of the Boer War. *Chicago*.

- V. G. SETSER, A.B. Montana 1925; A.M. Illinois 1926. The commercial reciprocity policy of the United States, 1774-1860. *Pennsylvania*.
- M. SHARP, A.B. Harvard 1929; A.M. 1933. The New England defense system in the seventeenth century. *Harvard*.
- ENGEL SLUITER, A.B. Stanford 1929. Dutch voyages along the Pacific coast. *California*.
- CATHERINE H. SMITH, A.B. Agnes Scott 1922; A.M. Chicago 1927. Social and economic factors in British imperialism in the 1880's. *Chicago*.
- GOLDWIN A. SMITH, B.A. Western Ontario 1933; M.A. Toronto 1934. The relations of Great Britain and Canada during the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington, 1871. *Cornell*.
- C. P. STACEY, B.A. Toronto 1927; B.A. Oxford 1929; A.M. Princeton 1931; Ph.D. 1933. Canada and the British army, 1846-1871: A study in the practice of responsible government in the British colonies. *Princeton*.
- G. F. G. STANLEY, B.A. Oxford; D.Phil. 1935. The second Riel Rebellion, 1870-1886. *Oxford*.
- LEFTEN S. STAVRIANOS, B.A. British Columbia 1933; A.M. Clark 1934. The frontier theory and the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-8. *Clark*. (Abstract in *Clark University abstracts of dissertations and theses, 1934*.)
- C. L. STEWART, A.B. California 1927; A.M. 1929. Spanish activities on the Northwest Coast, 1788-1795. *California*.
- KATHLEEN ELIZABETH STOKES, M.A. Dalhousie. Sir John Wentworth and his times, 1766-1808. *London*.
- MILTON L. STOKES, B.A. Toronto 1920; M.A. 1922; LL.B. 1926. Central bank in Canada—its origin, structure and operations. *Pennsylvania*.
- THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN, A.B. San Diego State Teachers College 1929; A.M. California 1930. Jesuit travel to America (1678-1756) as recorded in the travel diaries of German Jesuits. *California*.
- D. B. TYLER, A.B. Williams 1921; B.A. Oxford 1926; M.A. Columbia 1928. A history of steamship lines in the north Atlantic, to 1902. *Columbia*.
- HAROLD F. UNDERHILL, B.A. British Columbia 1930. Labour legislation in British Columbia. *California*.
- HAROLD B. WARD, S.B. Chicago 1915; Ph.D. Chicago 1934. Hamilton, Ontario, as a manufacturing center. *Chicago*.
- M. J. WEIG, A.B. Buffalo 1930. Mob leaders in the American Revolution. *Chicago*.
- MAE L. WEST, B.A. McGill 1927; M.A. 1930. A comparative study of central banks in the British dominions. *McGill*.
- K. C. WHEARE, B.A. Oxford. Usage and convention in the development of the constitutional structure of the British Commonwealth of Nations. *Oxford*.
- CHARLES F. WILSON, B.A. Western Ontario 1928. Agricultural adjustment in Canada. *Harvard*.

THESES FOR THE MASTER'S DEGREE¹

- ABRAHAM ACKER, B.A. Toronto 1933. The comparative jurisprudence of procedure with special reference to Canada. *Toronto (Law)*.
- MARY E. AIKMAN, B.A. McGill 1934. Unemployment and dependency among women workers in Montreal. *McGill*.
- F. A. ARROWSMITH, B.A. London 1930. The Pacific ports of Canada. *London*.
- HELEN ROGERS BALDWIN, A.B. Southern California 1928. Chronological account of the contacts between European explorers and Eskimo tribes. *Southern California*.
- ADAM B. BALLENTINE, B.Com. Queen's 1934; M.Com. 1935. The earning power of Canadian industrial capital. *Queen's*.
- HERBERT RICHMOND BARCLAY, B.A., B.Com. British Columbia. History and finances of the city of Vancouver. *British Columbia*.

¹Although no theses were submitted this year at the University of New Brunswick for a post-graduate degree, reports were prepared by undergraduates under the direction of Professor B. S. Keirstead on "The responsibility of local government officers in N.B.," "Regulation of public utilities in N.B.," "The administration of unemployment relief in N.B., 1931-35, including the Kent inquiry," "Highway administration," "Gaol administration," "Education: Areas and administration".

- CHARLES M. BAYLEY, B.A. British Columbia. A brief survey of the areas of delinquency in Vancouver. *British Columbia*.
- ANDREW BEAUCHANT MACKINTOSH BELL, B.A. Queen's 1935. Canadian opinion and the Statute of Westminster. *Queen's*.
- ISABEL BESCOBY, B.A. British Columbia 1932; M.A. 1935. Some social aspects of the American mining advance into Cariboo and Kootenay. *British Columbia*.
- MAURICE BILODEAU. Naissance du Canada financier. *Montréal*.
- B. H. BLACK, B.A. Acadia 1933. Canadian Companies Acts. *Toronto*.
- J. E. BOYLE, B.Sc. Toronto 1932. Marketing costs in manufacturing. *Western Ontario*.
- GEORGE GORDON BRADSHAW, B.A. Toronto 1933. The advertiser's liability in Canada. *Toronto (Law)*.
- GEORGE GORDON BROOKS, B.A. Toronto 1932. The problem of defence in Canadian politics, 1860-1867. *Toronto*.
- CLYDE MANNING BROWN, B.A. Acadia 1930. Development of Canadian political parties. *Acadia*.
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REVIEW ARTICLE

ANNUAL SURVEY OF BOOKS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH¹

THE general literature this year provides a varied fare—from works of comparative unimportance to those of a more serious and fundamental nature. First of all, we have Mr. Fox's monograph, which is, in its essence, singularly academic. It is true that no "empire" has arrived at

¹*The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism.* By RALPH FOX. New York: International Publishers. 1933. Pp. 122. (75 cents)

L'Impero Britannico. By SCIPIONE GEMMA. (Istituto Nazionale Fascista di Cultura, Studi Giuridici E. Storici, diretti da P. S. Leicht.) Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli. 1933. Pp. 405. (L. 15)

A Supreme Senate and a Strong Empire. By R. V. WYNNE. London: P. S. King and Sons. 1934. Pp. ix, 76. (4s. 6d.)

An Outline of the Constitutional Laws of the British Empire with Appendices of Statutes. By E. SALANT. London: Sweet and Maxwell. 1934. Pp. viii, 239. (7s. 6d.)

The Third British Empire: Being a Course of Lectures delivered at Columbia University, New York. By ALFRED ZIMMERN. Third edition revised and enlarged. Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 192. (6s.)

The Empire in these Days: An Interpretation. By R. COUPLAND. London: Macmillan and Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1935. Pp. vii, 276. (\$2.50)

English Constitutional Documents, 1307-1485. Edited by ELEANOR LODGE and GLADYS A. THORNTON. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1935. Pp. xxv, 430. (\$3.75)

Constitutional Law of England. By EDWARD WAVELL RIDGES. Fifth edition. Revised and largely rewritten by A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. London: Stevens and Sons. 1934. Pp. xlviii, 672. (25s.)

The Law and the Constitution. By W. IVOR JENNINGS. London: University of London Press. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company. 1933. Pp. xiv, 270. (\$1.95)

William Charles Wentworth. By A. C. V. MELBOURNE. (The John Murtagh Macrossan Lectures, 1932.) Brisbane, Australia: Biggs and Company. 1934. Pp. 114.

Early Constitutional Development in Australia: New South Wales 1788-1856. By A. C. V. MELBOURNE. London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. viii, 456. (\$7.50)

An Introduction to some Problems of Australian Federalism: A Study of the Relationship between the Australian States and the Commonwealth with Special Reference to Finance. By KENNETH O. WARNER. (University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, IX, August, 1933.) Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press. 1933. Pp. xi, 312.

Studies in the Australian Constitution. Edited by G. V. PORTUS. Sydney: Angus and Robertson Limited in conjunction with the Australian Institute of Political Science. 1933. Pp. 233. (5s.)

Australia and England: A Study in Imperial Relations. By HENRY L. HALL. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1934. Pp. xii, 320. (\$4.00)

South Africa, 1652-1933. By ALAN F. HATTERSLEY. (The Home University Library.) London: Thornton Butterworth. 1933. Pp. 256. (2s. 6d.)

Canada an American Nation. By JOHN W. DAFOE. (Columbia University Lectures, Julius Beer Foundation.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1935. Pp. 134. (\$2.00)

pre-eminence by processes which would satisfy the judgment of some tribunal governed by a system of absolute standards. We are fortunate, however, as poor mortals, that standards of this nature do not exist, otherwise we should live in a world of terrific disappointments. It may be a valuable thing to see the "empire" from "the workers' point of view"; and we have no fault to find with a survey which would bring home to "the man in the street" the implications of "imperialism". On the other hand, extremes in statement do little to discount the "capitalistic system"; and one must know the "empire" in actuality not in theory to write on it with the power of convincing others. We may concede, for purposes of argument, that idealism and high standards have actuated no "empire" policy; but judgments must be relative. In spite of many shortcomings, which anyone acquainted with the British Empire in its everyday workings throughout the world would acknowledge, if sincere, we believe it has achieved its position by processes which will bear favourable comparison with those of any other empire which has ever existed. Mr. Fox writes too much "from the chair". We know by experience, as well as he does by argument, of failures, of defects, of errors, of grave mistakes; but over-emphasis does not rectify them. Issues must be judged by realistic processes. However much we may appreciate Mr. Fox's position from an idealistic standpoint, we feel that his monograph does not deserve serious consideration. The maps are quite inexpert and there is no index.

Of quite another quality is Dr. Scipione Gemma's work. In Italy there exists a remarkable scholarly activity in relation to the British Empire. For several years we have had opportunity to review works by Italian jurists and lawyers in this connection. The Istituto di Studi Legislativi is doing important work, under the direction of Professor Salvatore Galgano, in bringing to the attention of European scholars the comparative law of the British Empire. In addition, the juridical and historical studies of the Istituto Nazionale Fascista di Cultura is supplementing this work by a series of monographs devoted to comparative juristic and historical studies, to which Dr. Gemma's work belongs. We must acknowledge at once that it is not illuminated by a profound legal philosophy or permeated with a sense of deep insight. These indeed are hardly to be expected. On the other hand, it is remarkable to find in a foreign scholar not only such wide reading in the general history, monographs, and much of the miscellaneous literature, but a certain grasp of problems which confuse us who are of the "family" or "commonwealth". No higher praise can be given to this book than to say that we doubt whether any scholar within the British Empire could write a similar work on the scheme, organization, administration, and constitutional law of Italy or of France and its dependencies. The bibliographies are connected with each division of the subject and this serves to give them an apposite importance. We miss, however, a good deal of the more important current literature which, as a matter of fact, supplements or modifies the points of view represented in the general literature of the subject. Unfortunately, following foreign custom, there is no index; and a work, valuable as a contribution and critique from a foreign scholar, is thus rendered singularly difficult for purposes of reference.

It is with regret that we cannot praise Mr. Wynne's book, either as a contribution to original thought or as a series of constructive proposals. It must be said—emphatically and without anything of reserve—that to think of the empire in any terms of a unitary state is not only dangerous but out of date. We must accept realities. For the dominions, freedom to choose, freedom to make mistakes, freedom to differ, freedom to pursue divergent lines—all are of the very essence of coherence. No attempt to create anything like an institutional organization for the empire, into which the dominions will fit, has any chance of success; and a "supreme senate" for the empire, however carefully organized, however theoretically sound, is simply out of the question. We appreciate Mr. Wynne's sincerity; but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that, as far as the dominions are concerned, he is entirely out of touch with the political and legal facts. It may be true that there are dangers; but we do not in the least eliminate those dangers by advocating any proposals which have not behind them the approving weight of community values. We share to the full the author's emphasis on, and desire for, the coherence of the empire, which, with him, we believe to be the greatest medium for the progress of the world, for the avoidance of controversy, and for the pursuit of peace. Our only difference is that we cannot accept the conception that these great purposes will fail unless institutionalized. They little know of "empire" who only "England" know.

We have had occasion before to criticize adversely books of the nature of Mr. Salant's volume. Our main contention—and we submit that it is a valid one—is that it is unfortunate that any book should be written as a kind of short-cut to any examination. As a matter of fact, if such be the case, this book ought to be quite inadequate. For example, the British North America Act is printed quite apart from any amendments since 1867. The South Africa Act of 1909 appears almost divorced from the fifty odd amendments to it. In both cases, these defects are singularly jejune, seeing that the constitution of the Irish Free State is quite up to date. Apart from this general criticism, there are specific occasions for complaint. No one can seriously maintain that appeals to the privy council, before the creation of the judicial committee, were heard by those who were legally qualified. There are other obscurities, if not indeed inaccuracies, in connection with appeals. There is neither clarity nor certainty in relation to the constitutions of Malta, Cyprus, Australia; while the distinction between a protectorate and a protected state is not made entirely clear. In a technical review, it would be possible to enter into greater detail. We regret that we cannot consider the work anything more than a useful introductory study with a good index and table of cases; and we regret still more the suggestion that such a book might possibly represent the type of work adequate for "standing" in any faculty in "the constitutional laws of the British Empire". If the constitutional law of the British Empire is to become a serious study in the university faculties of the United Kingdom—and this is a situation which is to be thoroughly wished for—then we hope that the insight and attention given to it are not represented by books of this nature. The entire approach is too external, too formal, too "academic"—inaccurate indeed and incomplete—at the expense

of that intimate knowledge without which "law" can become perfectly misleading.

In this division of our review we sincerely welcome the third edition of Professor Zimmern's book, revised and brought up to date. Not only have mistakes been corrected and the footnotes improved, but important additions have been made in relation to the British Empire and the League of Nations and to the empire and international economic co-operation. It would be superfluous to submit Professor Zimmern's book to minute criticism, for its approach and conception remain substantially what they were when it was first issued in 1926. We do not want to give a wrong impression and we should be sorry if we did so; but the distinguished author seems to emphasize too much the elusive things which might make for unity, at the expense of those forces of geography and of actual domestic values which are of such supreme weight in any comprehensive summing up. We agree with the author in fundamentals—but no logical arguments, no "obvious" conclusions will ever issue in any scheme which can be described as "British". "Common tasks and common hopes" are vague terms—indeed at times dangerous terms. The future of the empire cannot be laid down—indeed that "future" will always be a "present" for each nation, to be judged by circumstances, to be estimated by each of his majesty's governments in the light of existing events. Unity, it is true—but unity judged by the implications of each situation. Beyond that all is vanity.

The distinguished Beit professor has done well to reprint some of his lectures and essays written during the last few years, which deal with the dominions, India, and the tropical colonies. Throughout there is insight fortified by scholarship and actual observation, together with a frank and realistic approach, which avoids exaggerations in either praise or blame, and finds justification for the empire in the fact that, with all its faults past, present, and potential, "it does somehow meet the human needs it exists to serve". These needs are not domestic alone, but world-wide—they satisfy group aspirations, they help to preserve peace, they bear witness to the corporativeness of life, they proclaim that the kingdom of heaven is not only "within you" but also "amongst you". It is true that Professor Coupland seems at times to have a fear, not directly expressed perhaps, that "status" may become a threat to "stature"; but, on the whole, this volume is excellent in tone, charming in criticism, and shot through with a genuine idealism. It is the product of a well-stored, cultured mind, and it reflects a sense of responsibility, which lends to it a note of practical sincerity. The chapter on the Free State is specially remarkable in this connection, forming as it does a worthy supplement to the survey of Irish history which Professor Coupland gave us in his work on the *American Revolution and the British Empire*—perhaps the most objective ever written by an English historian. In addition the chapters on India and the tropical colonies are of importance, not indeed for profundity, but as evidence of the widening scope of the Beit professorship—a purpose to which Professor Coupland has given himself wholeheartedly since his inaugural lecture (here happily reprinted) with excellent success both in his own writings and in those of his students. It is, of course, always a risk to give permanent form to essays and addresses,

and this risk can be seen here and there in a certain superficiality and in a tendency to the over-simplification of intricate political and constitutional problems which would undoubtedly be absent in a more reasoned discussion. Broadly speaking, however, the little book is so well justified that we regret that no index has been provided.

When Bishop Stubbs published the first edition of his *Select charters* in 1870, he concluded his work with the reign of Edward I believing, as he said, that the machinery of government was complete; and when the late Professor Davis in 1913 issued a revised and enlarged edition of Stubbs the original plan remained. Much research, however, has been done since 1870, especially in connection with the constitution; and the reign of Edward I now takes a less important place, especially since the recognition of the influences flowing from administrative developments. For the period from 1307 to 1485, when Dr. J. R. Tanner's *Tudor constitutional documents* begins, there has been a gap in carefully selected constitutional documents, and this gap has been unfortunate for university students in that they had little available, outside Adams and Stephens *Documents* which is much too superficial, from which they might carry out a documentary study of almost two hundred years of constitutional growth, adjustments, changes, and experiments. We give a hearty welcome then to this new volume of English constitutional documents from 1307 to 1485, selected and edited with great care and scholarship by Dr. Eleanor Lodge and Dr. Gladys Thornton. The scheme of the work is excellent. Divided into three parts—central government, the church, local government—it discloses wide knowledge, careful research, and first-class insight in selection. The documentary chapters in each part are preceded by a short and suggestive introduction and an admirable select bibliography. There is an adequate glossary of French terms and a comprehensive index. No student of history ought to be without this important volume, which will worthily fill a place vacant for too many years.

Historians have long been familiar with Ridges's *Constitutional law of England*. Indeed, for them and for political scientists it was much more useful than for lawyers. On the other hand, a new and thoroughly competent revision was needed; and the publishers have been fortunate in securing the services of Professor A. Berriedale Keith. It is true that his task must have been somewhat heroic, as Ridges was never a first-class or outstanding work; and the ways of an editor, even one so competent as Professor Keith, are too often made difficult by the whims of publishers. This is quite evident in the revision, where a good deal of compressed and dull history still remains, and the whole story of constitutional conventions is still marred by references to outworn authorities. When, however, Professor Keith reaches his own particular field, he has given Ridges not merely a new lease of life but a transfigured one. He has rewritten much and rewritten it well under limitations obviously not self-imposed. The weight of his learning, the accuracy of his scholarship, and the width of his knowledge illuminate the pages, and we know of no better introduction for historians and political scientists to the knowledge of the constitutional law of the British Empire and of the growth of administrative law. For the legal profession and for law students the book must remain intro-

ductory and on the whole unsatisfactory. Indeed, in this connection, it will not bear comparison with Professor Keith's *British constitutional law* published in 1931. However, the distinguished editor has performed a task in a manner which no one else could have done so well. Ridges was a mediocre book. It now has become worthwhile in those divisions in which the editor's hand is most clearly seen.

We welcome heartily Dr. Jennings's book for several reasons. First of all, he attempts to get down to fundamental principles. Secondly, in doing so, he submits once more the theories of Dicey to the meticulous examination of legal realism, with the result that little is left of the scholasticism that has flowed from the Dicey tradition. Thirdly, and most important, are acute and practical chapters dealing with the urgent problems of the administration and of administrative law. Finally, we have a refreshing discussion of "fundamental liberties". The book, small though it is, is informed with insight, learning, and realism. It is unfortunate that historians still cling too tenaciously and with extraordinary reverence to the constitutional scheme connected with Dicey's name. We sincerely hope that among them Dr. Jennings's little book will find a wide public. They need not fear a highly technical legal study—although the profession would be foolish to neglect it. At any rate, it is a stimulating corrective to much false legal theory and to much obscurantist history.

From Australia comes almost a small library. To Dr. A. C. V. Melbourne of the University of Queensland, already well known for the admirable chapters which he contributed to the Australian volume of the *Cambridge history of the British Empire*, we owe two important books. His study of William Charles Wentworth is an expansion of lectures delivered in 1932 on the John Murtagh Macrossan Foundation. We have already had occasion to commend highly Dr. Melbourne's predecessors in their lecturership, and it is a pleasure to find that he has carried on worthily the high traditions which they set before him. Here, in popular but attractive form, is set out the fundamental part played by Wentworth in the constitutional development of New South Wales and of Australia. His personal experiences are worked into a graphic story of his political faith. In spite of his ruggedness and of his consuming zeal, he must, we believe, take his place among the great men of the empire and certainly among the makers of Australia. Much more comprehensive is Dr. Melbourne's work on Australian constitutional development. It is an outstanding monograph, based on very careful original research, characterized by an objective if somewhat austere presentation, and always illuminated by informing views on the actors, among whom Wentworth figures as a full-drawn portrait. The emphasis is largely on New South Wales; but the theme suggests a uniform sweep which brings out adequately the fascinating history of a complicated colonial period in which Canadians will find much of interest. Here is the old colonial problem in its particular Australian setting. Here is "Downing Street" once more—officialdom, narrow in vision, unctuous in obscurantism. Here is the governor who "governs". Here are the "exclusives"—the Australian "family compact"; and the ex-convicts or "emancipists"—the Australian "reformers". The whole story is, in its fundamentals, not unfamiliar to Canadians; but it is of

great value to read it in the language of another community. No more important contribution has been made to Australian scholarship for many years. Of course, it is true that the Australian struggle for responsible government had behind it the Canadian experience; but it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that it had domestic features of such a nature as to give it a worthy place in the processes of liberalism. It is for these domestic details, related to the "central" theory, that we have found the book of greatest value. The printing, indexing, and referencing are all first-class. In a new edition greater care is needed in reference to the English law in force in the colony. As it is, the distinguished author's discussion is not quite convincing. The provision of the Canada Constitutional Act of 1791 in connection with titles is misinterpreted; and we must protest against the emphasis laid on the work of Durham and Elgin at the expense not only of Bagot but of the Canadian constitutional reformers. We trust that Dr. Melbourne will undertake the complete constitutional history of Australia which is long since overdue.

Overdue also is a complete survey of the law and custom of the Australian constitution. Sir W. Harrison Moore's treatise appeared as long ago as 1910. Since then we have had monographs on aspects of the constitutional law, such as those by Quick, Groom, and Kerr, and suggestive and valuable lectures on the Macrossan Foundation by Holman and Latham. What is needed, however, is a comprehensive interpretation of the constitutional law and the constitutional conventions, which would also lend itself to comparative treatment with other federations. Two recent volumes illustrate this need. Mr. Warner's admirable study of Australian federalism discloses the difficulties in the mechanism of state-commonwealth relations, and he has brought these into admirable relief by a survey of wide material—extra-constitutional conventions with special emphasis on the administrative side, the pertinent statutes, judicial decisions, state and commonwealth agreements and contracts, and such like. The frictions and irritations common to federalism are thus related with careful scholarship to their Australian setting. As Mr. Warner says, it is impossible to form any facile judgment on the success or failure of the Australian scheme of government. It is obvious, however, that he has made a noteworthy contribution to the elucidation of its peculiar problems, and his appendix covering the years 1930-3, helps to bring his book up to date. The most valuable part of his study is that dealing with the financial relationship of states and of commonwealth. Here he breaks almost new ground—at any rate, he is a successful pioneer in bringing together in a clear and objective manner the history of one of the most complicated problems in Australia. Nowhere else is it possible to obtain such an admirable and balanced review of the whole situation, fortified by careful references, historical skill, and a sound economic approach. For these pages he deserves the thanks of all students. The first part of the book is weak. It is too compressed, too cursory; and evidently Mr. Warner does not write as a lawyer. For those thoroughly acquainted with Australian constitutional law the survey will serve no useful purpose; for others, it may give rise to a lack of appreciation of fine and subtle points. However, students can afford to neglect these eighty odd pages in the

light of the value of the rest of the book. The bibliography is excellent. We miss, however, Professor Keith's *Constitutional law of the British dominions*, which discloses that he and Professor Noel Baker are not perhaps as far apart as Mr. Warner thinks (pp. 14 ff.) We also miss the two latest books by Lefroy. His *Legislative power* is completely out of date. The index is quite unworthy of such a valuable book.

The volume of studies dealing with the Australian constitution is perhaps of more significance than importance. The studies represent papers read at the first summer school of the Australian Institute of Political Science in 1933, and they suffer somewhat from the method of presentation and from the occasion for which they were prepared. On the other hand, there is scarcely a study which does not suggest the necessity, already referred to, for a comprehensive treatise. The book, then, has a significance, for it is evident that Australians are becoming more and more convinced of this gap in their constitutional literature, and the volume must receive a distinct welcome. It must be judged in close connection with its origins. When this is done, it assumes an importance which might otherwise be obscured. From it emerge constitutional issues of real urgency, juridical misgivings and questionings which disclose active political interests, constructive suggestions flowing from critical experience, all of which make it clear that the Australian Institute of Political Science is doing an invaluable work.

Finally we have the interesting study of the relationship between Australia and England during the years 1850-1914. Beginning with the geographical, economic, social, and political background of Australian history, the author goes on to provide an intensive study of the colonial office, based on original research, and of its personnel and attitude to the problems and hopes of Australian life. The great value of the book lies, however, in the close examination made of Australian opinion in connection with the whole question of imperial relationships, as the evolution took place from representative to full responsible government, bringing with it the issues of foreign policy and of naval defence. It is interesting to note how small in the final analysis was the influence of theory, and that the strong unequivocal claim for complete political freedom was governed as a general rule by actualities. In addition, the very fact of "empire", enabled Australia to move with caution, and apart from the necessity for sudden decisions. On the other hand, perhaps no colonies "put up" such widespread and uniform demands as did the Australian, and these demands had undoubtedly an important influence on the mentality of the colonial office. The book constitutes a thesis for the doctor's degree in the University of London. It certainly reaches a very high standard and reflects the greatest credit not only on the author but on the group of teachers at London under whom a remarkable school of research in imperial history has grown up. We hope that one day Mr. Hall will see his way to continue his survey from 1914 on. The whole problem of inter-commonwealth relations is to-day vitiated with dogma, obfuscated with theory, weakened with sentiment, and darkened with shibboleths. What is needed is a clear-cut knowledge of those forces which lie behind nationhood—be they social, economic, geographical, racial. We must first learn the realities of our

differences, before we aspire to comprehend our likenesses—if any. The very hope for unity is itself placed under a severe strain when we find the everyday commonplace realities of one nation's life misinterpreted as fissiparous and disintegrating. Mr. Hall has done excellent work for a not remote past. We trust that he will go on to do similar work for a very urgent present. Indeed, the suggestions springing from his successful accomplishment are reinforced by Professor Hattersley's little volume. Within the short compass of a stereotyped library series he has given a view of South African history extending over almost three centuries which is a model of judicial writing. Amid all the storms—economic, racial, international, inter-commonwealth—through the grim conflicts of wars and rumours of wars, he steers a course of calm objectivity, which is obviously the outcome of wide and accurate scholarship and of scientific detachment. For South Africa, he could obviously write well and with conviction of the modern issues and thus bring into relief those South African characteristics which we must needs know, if we are to understand. And without understanding the commonwealth must perish. We cannot be satisfied with our old men seeing visions and our young men dreaming dreams. We must see for each nation the idiosyncrasies of its stern present—otherwise the future will perish in an abyss of misinterpretations.

It is with singular pleasure that we are able to conclude this annual survey with Mr. J. W. Dafoe's excellent lectures. We must at once congratulate the distinguished author and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, on whose invitation the lectures were delivered. Perhaps no living Canadian is better qualified to interpret Canadian-American relations than is Mr. Dafoe, especially in bringing into clear-stated relief "the common foundation of early North American feeling and belief upon which the structures of government in both countries rest". The author is not merely a scholar in the best sense of the word, but for many years he has commanded international respect as a man of affairs. He is thus eminently endowed in mind and walk and conversation for the purposes set before him. The survey of Canada's rise to nationhood rides the storm of partisanship and directs the whirlwind of theory; that of Canada as a democracy survives the pedestrian; that of Canada as a neighbour escapes sentiment and platitudes. Throughout the little volume there is evident that sense of Canadian and of North American realities so necessary in a world of nation states, where ignorance is not bliss and it is folly not to be wise. Here too, are frankness and outspokenness from a man who has his eye severely on the subject before him, who is not afraid to be honest, direct, and straight-forward. No such commonplaces as "three thousand miles of ungarded frontier", "cousinship", "common heirs to a continent" prevent him from speaking the faith that is in him. The well-known rugged personality of the man is translated out of a life-time of international experience into something of the calm summing up of the judge. Here and there we may disagree with a point of emphasis or with a method of interpretation; but these are small points in a volume of lectures remarkably successful in their scope and accomplishment.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Documents Relating to the North West Company. Edited with introduction, notes, and appendices by W. S. WALLACE. (Publications of the Champlain Society, XXII.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1934. Pp. xv, 527, xii.

As Mr. Wallace, the editor, puts it himself in his preface, the object of this volume is "to bring together the chief materials, both published and unpublished, which are now available with regard to what may be described as the constitutional history of the North West Company". In making available so large an amount of source material on the North West Company, the Champlain Society has performed a very valuable service. The need of such a publication has long been felt. The important part played by the North West Company in Canada's development has been fully recognized, but it is none the less a fact that that part is still more guessed at than exactly measured. By bringing together information hitherto known but scattered and also by adding much to it, Mr. Wallace has now considerably lessened the difficulties of historians and consequently placed them under a deep obligation.

Only a few of the documents contained in the volume have already appeared in print, the greater part having been obtained from various collections of manuscripts. The libraries of McGill University, Saint Sulpice, in Montreal, Toronto, and Detroit, the archives of the Dominion and of Ontario, Somerset House, and Hudson's Bay House in London have all contributed. In the last institution alone the editor could have picked up enough unpublished material to fill several other bulky volumes, but he purposely limited himself to documents which had a direct bearing on the constitutional history of the North West Company. Not more than thirty-two documents in all are here published. It is true that some of them are very substantial, the minutes of the company from 1801 to 1814, for instance, occupying nearly a third of the entire space devoted to reproductions proper. As a whole, the choice has been judiciously and intelligently made. There is not a single piece which does not serve its object and whose inclusion in the collection could be reasonably challenged.

But were there any documents omitted which should have been included? That is another question. I will venture to indicate a few apparent omissions which, for my part, I have vainly tried to reconcile.

First, what about the agreement of 1824 between the Hudson's Bay Company and the agents of the North West Company? When, on page 321, Mr. Wallace decides, and quite rightly, to summarize the indenture of 1821, instead of reproducing the whole ten thousand words of its text, does he not give as a reason the fact that the indenture was superseded three years later by another agreement? The reader is thus led to expect that the new arrangement will be treated later, but nothing further is said of it.

The reader will also notice that no document has been published for

the years between 1817 and 1821. The gap may not appear very wide by itself, but it widens immensely when we realize that it covers the four crucial years which saw the bloody contest between Lord Selkirk and the Nor' Westers. It is hard to conceive that in a documentary history of the North West Company not a single document is to be found having a direct relation with the famous controversy which finally led to the downfall of the proud McGillivrays. Much stress is laid on the Selkirk war in the historical introduction, and the various publications relating to it form at least a third of the editor's select bibliography. Of course, we could not expect Mr. Wallace to note again the well-known events of the contest and still less the innumerable trials to which they gave occasion, but it seems that there might have been extracted from public or private archives a certain number of documents on this subject with as much bearing "on the constitutional history of the North West Company" as many others here published, and which even when they are known, are difficult of access. For so obvious an omission the editor must certainly have had a reason and we can only regret that he has not chosen to make it known.

It may also be noted that no indication of source is given at the head of the thirty-second and last document—the letter of Henry MacKenzie to Simon McGillivray. This is the only such omission in the book, and is evidently due merely to oversight. Although he has not included it in his bibliography, Mr. Wallace was aware that the letter was already in print (it was published at the office of the *Montreal Herald* in 1827), for he has recorded the fact, though very briefly, in his biographical note on Henry MacKenzie.

Mr. Wallace has added greatly to the usefulness of the collection by his historical introduction, which will certainly be acknowledged by all as an excellent page of history, well balanced, vivid, and accurate. So too with the select bibliography,—as was to be expected from a master bibliographer, it is precise, covers all the necessary ground, and fully answers its purpose.

Above all Mr. Wallace deserves praise for his dictionary of the Nor' Westers. It could by itself form a book of respectable size, and unquestionably is an admirable piece of work. Only those who have tried their hand at disentangling the innumerable Frasers, Grants, Camerons, or MacKenzies who adorned the North West Company can realize the courage which was needed to undertake such a task and also the tremendous amount of research required. The result to which Mr. Wallace has attained is simply marvellous. Thanks to him, some of the most elusive of the clansmen of the North are at last pinned in their right place and the historian from now on may move with a much greater ease among them.

Of course Mr. Wallace himself does not pretend that he has absolutely seen the end of his nearly impossible enterprise and that in the two hundred and fifty-seven biographies he has prepared, he has not made a slip here and there. It might be noted, for instance, by way of correction or addition, that Finnan MacDonald married not only once but twice, that Ronald Cameron was a brother of Dugald, and that the Mitchell who died in 1809 was not David Junior, but David Senior, equally a member

of the Beaver Club. But the errors are so slight and the omissions so few or unimportant, that it is not really worth while to stop at them. There is, indeed, only one assertion that I have an earnest wish to contradict for reasons too long to develop: the statement that Maurice Regis Blondeau had in him an early strain of Indian blood. The sturdy French-Canadian partner of the North West Company may have infused some of his blood in Indian veins, but Mr. Wallace may rest assured that he had in his own only pure French blood.

Not only is the book a very valuable contribution to Canadian history, it is, as is usual with the Champlain Society's publications, handsomely printed, beautifully presented, and includes an index which is beyond reproach.

ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX

Canada and the American Revolution: The Disruption of the First British Empire. By GEORGE M. WRONG. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1935. Pp. xii, 497. (\$5.00)

PROFESSOR WRONG is setting a fine example to the craft. After a fruitful career, he still produces books dispensing a better knowledge of Canadian history. Here, in continuation of his *Rise and fall of New France* (Toronto, 1928) is a volume rich in substance, arresting in narration, and pleasing in style.

The book does not propose to give an account of all the aspects of Canada's history during the period of the Revolution. It is neither a political analysis of the forces in action, as envisaged by Coffin in his *Province of Quebec and the early American Revolution* (Madison, 1896) nor a narrative of the endeavour of the Thirteen Colonies to conquer Canada, as detailed by Justin H. Smith in *Our struggle for the fourteenth colony* (New York, 1907). Mr. Wrong's theme, as the sub-title makes clear, is the disruption of the first British Empire through the American Revolution and the powerful influence of that great event on Canadian development. If this view be accepted, it will be understood why the author, writing a Canadian book, appears to have devoted too much space to the British and American, as compared with the Canadian, aspects of his subject. It will also be noted by the critical student that the author has not searched for new material and has drawn little from manuscript sources. What has successfully been produced by Mr. Wrong, through assiduous, selective, and dispassionate use of printed materials, is not so much an historian's documentary narrative as a philosopher's historical interpretation of the American Revolution, enlivened by the artistic and polished use of the literary pen and brush.

Within this defined field, he has enriched our historical shelf with a broader presentation of the subject than has been provided by previous writers. One may venture to say that the part allotted to Canada is perhaps too restricted, but, on the other hand, both the social and political conditions in America and Great Britain are here given their full importance and influence. After reading these pages, embellished perhaps a little profusely with political and biographical information, how much better one realizes that the War of Independence was but

the necessary fruition of economic factors and human reactions. Ignoring prejudices, the story is related with admirable fairness and sympathetic attention to all sides in the quarrel. The narrative is marked throughout by its mellow philosophic temper, the product of the author's mature judgment and his knowledge of historical psychology.

Perhaps the critical reader would have preferred a less discursive and more documentary mode of treatment, less of the background, and more of the economic forces screened behind political arguments, and especially, more about the social and ethnic groups in Canada. Many pages would be considered as *hors d'oeuvre*, though the *hors d'oeuvre* is by no means the least enjoyable part of the meal. Scholars will often, but not always, agree with Mr. Wrong's conclusions. Certainly they will endorse his opinion that had the Quebec Act been adopted sooner, for instance in 1770, "the situation might have been eased" (p. 241). He could have gone further and said that the great weakness of the Quebec Act was that it came ten years too late. They will also agree, in spite of Masères's dictum, with the view that "Quebec remained British because it was French" (p. 260). Mr. Wrong has explained well how Canada was at the loser's end of the Treaty of Paris, owing to Oswald's candour or ineptitude.

On the other hand, some of his authorities have trapped the author into assertions which need at least to be qualified. A few may be pointed out here. Far from being "crushing" (p. 282), the taxation of the *habitant* during the old régime was very light, especially when compared with the French or English systems. The repeal of the Quebec Act was never seriously suggested except through Masères's interested correspondents. How can it be said that "even after the Americans were nearing Montreal, not a French Canadian enlisted" (p. 284)? What about McKay's 50 French volunteers, and the 120 seigneurs, merchants, and *habitants*, all volunteers, under Bellêtre? What about the 300 French Montrealers, who defeated Allen, and the 1,200 *habitants* who flocked to Montreal after this encounter,—not to mention the 700 Quebec militia? Where, too, did the author get the story that Briand's pastoral letter "promised indulgence for taking up arms against the Americans" (p. 284)? It seems that he has also overdone the rascality of both Grenville and Townshend, and the English Tories generally, while giving little indication of the unscrupulous political actions of many Americans including Franklin and Samuel Adams. It is perhaps unnecessary to mention typographical or other errors of detail. To a critical bibliography of printed sources for each chapter, there is added a brief nominal index, which is not without defects: Quebec Act, for example, is omitted.

Within its scope as defined, the book constitutes a real contribution to the history of the period, and it will be much appreciated by the wide circle to whom Mr. Wrong's work is so well known.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1933-1934. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Québec: Rédempti Paradis, imprimeur de sa majesté le roi. 1934. Pp. xiii, 459.

FOUR hundred years ago Jacques Cartier discovered the narrows which the Indians called Quebec. Forty years ago M. Pierre-Georges Roy founded *Le bulletin des recherches historiques*. Fourteen years ago he published his first *Rapport*. Four years ago the provincial archives were transferred to the new provincial museum of which he is now director. It is therefore most appropriate that the two provincial statesmen who founded the modern archives of Quebec—M. L. A. Taschereau and M. Athanase David—should have chosen a specially bound set of M. Roy's excellent archival works as the most suitable jubilee present for his majesty from this the most historic of all Canadian provinces.

Three very different collections are published in this last *Rapport*; and all are edited with consummate care. They deal with various events which happened in the course of some eighty pregnant years (1746-1828); but all shed interesting sidelights on different aspects of French and French-Canadian life.

The papers of the Chevalier de la Pause are now completed by their third consecutive part. As before, they are not of the first importance, but they reveal certain features of the military *vie intime* during the last fourteen years of French rule (1746-60). Supply and transport are dealt with in detail, so also are fortification, organization, and the strategy and tactics of the different campaigns. But the material is never complete enough on any one subject, so that, except for sundry illuminating details, mostly on the seamy side, the *La Pause papers* do not add much to what can be consulted elsewhere. They are, however, well worth publishing, because they have considerable substantiating value, more especially with regard to the essential weakness of New France.

Les lettres du vicomte François-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry à sa famille form one of the most delightful curiosities of Canadian history—or should we say biography? Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry married Louise-Martel de Brouage, by whom he had no less than eighteen children, of whom this French viscount was the eldest son. The father lived at Quebec, where he became a great friend of Carleton, a member of the legislative council, and *grand voyer* of the district of Quebec. He had fought gallantly for France in the war of the British conquest; but, finding himself hopelessly stranded in Paris afterwards and without any chance of further military service, he gladly returned to Quebec. Of his fifteen "foreignneering" children two died in England, one in Guadeloupe, and another in Russia; while the writer of these family letters entered the French army, served many years in the West Indies, returned to France during the Revolution, joined Napoleon, greatly distinguished himself at Austerlitz, in Spain, and during the Hundred Days, and fairly won his place among the illustrious warriors whose names appear on the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile.

Unfortunately, the letters to his parents and Canadian brother (Louis-René) stop short with the French Revolution, except for the only two known surviving items of a later time (London, June 19, 1802,

and Paris, December 27, 1814). The earliest letters (1763-70) look as if they had been copied from the models for some correspondence course; but after that his style improves quite rapidly, though with sundry corresponding lapses in his French. On the whole, there are very few passages of much importance to what sometimes is called "real history", but there are intermittent flashes on the *vie intime*. Another interesting point is that these letters, from one belligerent country to another, delightfully remind us of how M. Georges Ancel, mayor of Harfleur, used to greet Canadians, of either French or English speech, during the Great War. With his wife beside him as a living souvenir of the Franco-British past (for she was a direct descendant of the De Houdetôt who had carried the standard of William the Conqueror) he always began by saying: "We French and British used to fight each other a good deal in the past. But we used to fight like gentlemen."

The third collection is the most important to the formative history of Canada, although it is an *inventaire* not a verbatim reprint, and although the *inventaire* of the last five years of the series (1828-33) is being held over for the next *Rapport*. This *Inventaire de la correspondance de Mgr. Bernard-Claude Panet, archevêque de Québec* covers some crucial years between 1806 and 1828: crucial for both church and state, in both peace and war; and equally crucial for the relations of French and English Canadians. There never was a more important, more pervasive, or more centralizing influence on French-Canadian life than that which was so widely and so patriotically exercised by Mgr. Panet, and, still more, by Mgr. J.-O. Plessis, whose coadjutor he was, and to whom most of his correspondence was addressed until he succeeded to the see in 1825. Both prelates were naturally loyal to the backbone throughout the War of 1812. But it is worth remembering that Plessis also preached a most convincing sermon "à l'occasion de la victoire remportée par les forces navales de Sa Majesté Britannique dans la Méditerranée, le 1 et 2 août 1798, sur la flotte française"—that is, in praise of Nelson at the Nile.

The highly expert condensation of this *Inventaire* is the work of the Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, who, like M. Roy himself, and his other colleague, M. Antoine Roy, has been the unanimously chosen winner of a first-rate Prix David.

WILLIAM WOOD

L'Ile d'Orléans. Par J.-CAMILLE POULIOT. (Glanures historiques et familiales.) Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1927. Pp. 173.

La grande aventure de Jacques Cartier. Épave bi-centenaire, découverte au Cap des Rosiers en 1908. Par J.-CAMILLE POULIOT. (Glanures Gaspésiennes.) Québec: 1934. Pp. iii, 328.

Au cœur de Québec. Par MARIUS BARBEAU. (Collection du Zodiaque "35".) Montréal: Les Éditions du Zodiaque, 1247 rue Saint-Denis. 1934. Pp. 200.

THE author of the first two volumes is a man of the world, with a training in the law and strong family, professional, and party ties. He has in mature years taken to writing books for his own enjoyment and the guidance of the public, particularly outsiders of the tourist type,—the two reviewed herewith being the latest to appear.

L'Ile d'Orléans, of which a more comprehensive English edition was given out at the same time as the French (1927), under the caption *Quebec and the Island of Orleans*, is replete with information of various kinds, pictorial or otherwise, much of which is supplied first hand from the author's fund. Some nine or ten years ago, Mr. Justice Pouliot acquired the ownership of an old historical manor dating back to the French régime and situated in the parish of Saint-Jean, a building which he has in the meantime renovated, enlarged, and filled with a wealth of historical relics. The book is well worth perusing and gives a fair idea of the life and manners of an old-fashioned and interesting section of the country, now in process of rapid change.

Even more impressive at first sight is the author's later work, *La grande aventure de Jacques Cartier: Épave bi-centenaire*: a stout octavo, printed on heavy paper, in large, clear type, interspersed with numerous cuts and full-page engravings, as also several folding maps. Its 328 pages, under neatly decorated covers, are a worthy homage to the prowess and expertness of the discoverer, while at the same time vouching for the author's earnestness and industry. Indeed, as a life-long resident on the shores of the lower St. Lawrence, and imbued with the traditions of his French ancestry and the naïve lore of the Magdalen Island fisher folk, he could not but wax enthusiastic over the achievements of the sturdy Breton mariner and endeavour to dedicate a lasting memorial to him and to the settlers now inhabiting this isolated and for centuries sorely neglected region.

However, due partly to the remoteness of events, possibly also to haste in the turning out of the book, the author did not find his way to enrich it with a due proportion of facts and ideas supplied from his personal fund of information and experience. As it is, the bulk of the book is made up of borrowed material, and very much assumes the form of a collection of documents, a court factum or stated case, as it were, with exhibits and evidence attached.

In another sphere, Mr. Justice Pouliot has done good work in the service of Cartier's friends and admirers. In the footsteps of Senator Lemieux, he was among the most zealous to urge the celebration on national lines of the fourth centenary of the discovery of Canada, and as a sequel was instrumental, through the timely action of the Royal Society of Canada and the Dominion Geographical Bureau, in bringing about the restoration of Cartier's name to the harbour originally christened after himself on the bleak North Atlantic coast, which, some time after the conquest, had been changed to Cumberland.

M. Barbeau's sound scientific training and researches have made him widely known in the realm of anthropology, though in the course of years a good deal of his time has been taken up with racy newspaper writing and folk-lore festivals. The 200 pages of his volume are divided among eight chapters, none of them devoid of interest. "Le Rocher Malin" (26 pages), in the setting of the old Temiscouata line of travel connecting Acadia with Quebec, illustrates again how the ancient popular fear of the activities of the Evil One has provided opportunities for the enjoyment of the practical joker. "Dans les Laurentides" (33 pages), in a graver mood, acquaints the reader with some peculiarities of peasant life in the county of Charlevoix. After getting, in the company of the old itinerant

mendicant, Louis L'Aveugle, an insight into the life and manners of the good people of Baie Saint-Paul, Les Éboulements, Saint-Irénée, and Malbaie (or Murray Bay), we are told of the beginning of the folk-lore festivals, first started at Saint-Irénée under the guidance of the author. In "La Tourneé du Moulin" (25 pages), M. Barbeau takes us on a visit to a couple of the villages established, in the vicinity of Quebec in the second half of the seventeenth century, along the lines laid down by the Intendant Talon, and close to which has lately been opened the "Jardin zoologique", as it is called, a combination half-way between a garden and a menagerie. Here the author does not feel so sure of his ground. As observed elsewhere, an occasional statement, especially when touching on history, will require verification, amplification, or possibly correction.

Presently, however, he reverts to the subject of architecture, and especially church architecture and decoration, in dealing with which he feels possibly more at home: "L'École des Arts et Métiers de Mgr. de Laval" (21 pages), "Anciens sculpteurs de Québec" (20 pages), "Pourquoi disparaissent vos vieilles églises" (15 pages), and "Le dernier de nos grands artisans, Louis Jobin" (32 pages), are all dedicated practically to that same subject matter. The last of the series, "À l'Île d'Orléans", has a wider outlook than the preceding chapters, and is by far the best, considered as a social monograph of a section of the country. The comparison of the characteristics of the people settled on either side of the Island of Orleans is most illuminating and strictly accurate.

LÉON GÉRIN

Les Trois-Rivières: Quatre siècles d'histoire, 1535-1935. Par ALBERT TESSIER. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 17.) Les Trois-Rivières: Le Nouvelliste, éditeurs-imprimeurs. 1934. Pp. 67.

LOCAL history owes a tribute of gratitude to the Abbé Tessier for his remarkable back-to-the-past movement. In three years from 1932 to 1934, he has been responsible for the publication of nearly thirty pamphlets relating to the history of the St. Maurice Valley. Of course, this mass production reveals uneven quality, but it still represents a useful contribution to local history.

To complete it, the Abbé Tessier has now brought out a volume of his own, *Les Trois-Rivières*. It is not a history proper of Three Rivers, but a kind of broad historical fresco of the city of Lavolette, whose three greatest sons, Nicolet, Radisson, and La Vérendrye, have between themselves explored nearly one-third of Canada. The part covering the French régime presents a well-documented and arresting narrative: the reader feels that the author is imbued with his subject and thoroughly conversant with all the historical background. But, when he reaches the English régime, owing no doubt to a certain lack of notable events and also ready documentation, the narrative loses some of its abundant informative interest, being loaded with excerpts from contemporary newspapers. It may be that the author was suddenly pressed for time; in any case, the fresco tends perhaps too much to become a sketch, though there will be found a summary of the remarkable industrial growth of the district during the last thirty years and good information on educational and social institutions. The book stands as a useful outline of the history of the region.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763. By RALPH GREENLEE LOUNSBURY. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1934. Pp. x, 398. (\$4.00)

The North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713. By CHARLES BURNET JUDAH. (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XVIII (3-4). University of Illinois Bulletin, XXXI (1), Sept. 5, 1933.) Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois. 1933. Pp. 183. (\$1.50)

THE above volumes are important contributions to the history of British policy in a relatively neglected region. The first volume at once displaces Prowse as a history of Newfoundland to 1763 and presents a definitive careful study of available documents in relation to the development of policy. A valuable introductory chapter on the geographic background, maps, bibliography, and index contribute to the effectiveness of the work. The second volume is more restricted in its scope as to time and more extended as to region, including as it does an account of the policy towards New England to about 1660. While it includes a more adequate description of policy in the sixteenth century, a bibliography, and an index, it tends to stress interpretation rather than detail and relies extensively on published and unpublished work such as the master's thesis (University of London) of A. G. Field on "The development of government in Newfoundland 1638-1713", as well as on manuscript material. It may be doubted whether the work of these volumes can be improved as attempts to outline and interpret British policy toward the Newfoundland fisheries.

Indeed the high standard of work brings out clearly the major defects. Serious limitations are indicated by the failure of the first volume to mention the regulations of 1681 and to discuss the salt problem in England (chap. ii), and of the second volume to comprehend thoroughly the position of the banks in the fishery, to discuss the work of the Cabots as described in J. A. Williamson's *Voyages of the Cabots* (London, 1929) and to indicate the lack of significance of requests from English authorities for permission to fish in Newfoundland in 1591 (p. 30). In both volumes interpretations, although significant, tend to be overworked. Developments in Newfoundland and New England are contrasted by both authors in relation to policy, while the difference in geographic background, though not neglected, is not emphasized sufficiently (see Judah, p. 104, n.). The same is true, and even more important, of the difference in the technique of the industry. Numerous illuminating suggestions of Mr. Lounsbury are pressed too far or not far enough. It might be argued not that the west country adventurers supported the old medieval conception of trade and the London merchants the spirit of economic nationalism (pp. 91, 125), but that the west country merchants were insistent on the advantages of freedom of trade and opposed to proposals of monopoly from London. While the work of Mr. Judah suffers from literary bias and is not comparable in thoroughness with that of Professor Lounsbury, he has certain advantages in a wider regional approach and in his emphasis on chronological treatment. His neglect of New England after 1660 is, however, significant.

While the present reviewer desires to pay his respects to the exhaustive research involved in these works in a most difficult field, he cannot but

feel that they indicate fatal weaknesses in modern intensive historical writing. From the point of view of the economist certain fundamental factors of geography and economic development tend to be discounted. Without belabouring matters of detail as to technique and geographic background, it may be pointed out that both authors have failed to indicate adequately that the second half of the seventeenth century was a period of marked expansion in New England, and that this expansion was directly linked to the expansion of the West Indies. There is no reference in either bibliography to the important work of Pitman on the British West Indies.¹ New England or the colonies might be regarded as low-pressure areas attracting labour, capital, and trade as shown in the continued references to the high premium on bills in the Newfoundland trade. The policy of England towards Newfoundland with its countless investigations was in many ways a ripple indicating a powerful tidal current flowing towards New England. The growth of settlement in Newfoundland was a reflection of the strength of the current irrespective of English legislation. The intensity of Mr. Lounsbury's study and the interpretative emphasis of Mr. Judah point in the general direction, but their conclusions have been submerged in the mass of detail.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to say more than that the increasing attention of historians to economic subjects warrants a more adequate study of economics, of geography, and of technique. No subject illustrates so well the effects of competition over a wide area as the fishing industry of the North Atlantic since its beginnings, and it cannot be understood by narrow reference to periods or to areas. Discussions of policy without references to a broad background tend to become rattlings of dry bones. "For no people ever yet grew rich by policies; but it is peace, industry and freedom that brings trade and wealth and nothing else."²

HAROLD A. INNIS

L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle. Par GILBERT CHINARD. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 25 rue de Tournon. 1934. Pp. viii, 454. (40 fr.)

The subject of this book is only indirectly connected with Canadian history proper; and therefore the volume, despite its real interest and importance, has only a modest claim upon the space of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. As its title implies, the book is a study in the evolution of political and social ideas in France. Professor Chinard's object has been to analyse the accounts of travels, both real and imaginary, in America, which were popular in France during the two centuries under review; to indicate their leading impressions and ideas; and to trace the presence and influence of these ideas in the literature and philosophy of the time. Professor Chinard is not concerned with all travellers' accounts, nor with the historical value of those which he studies. He is interested only in accounts which were fairly widely read and in the general impressions of America which they diffused among literate people. His intention is to

¹F. W. Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies, 1700-63* (New Haven, 1917).

²Dudley North, *Discourses upon trade* (London, 1691).

describe the part played by American concepts—the “noble savage” and the terrestrial paradise of the “western isles”—in the cult of the primitive, the exotic, and the antique which culminated in Rousseau’s famous discourses.

The second part of the book is devoted to the early chroniclers of New France. It presents a brief, but an illuminating, analysis of the characters, motives, and ideas of these old travellers and chroniclers upon whom Canadian history must always largely rely. There is a short discussion of Champlain; but the author is chiefly interested in Lescarbot, Sagard Théodat, the Jesuit chroniclers, Hennepin, and Lahontan. Through them, Canada made an important contribution to the cult of simplicity and, in particular, to the idea of the noble savage. All these writers—even the Jesuits and particularly Lahontan—displayed respect and admiration for the Indians and their society; and, in a manner which became a literary convention, they coupled with this eulogy an implied or avowed criticism of the civilization and government of France. Professor Chinard regards even Lescarbot and Sagard as unwitting precursors of Rousseau. He calls Lahontan an “anarchist”, a “revolutionary journalist”, who foreshadowed, not only Rousseau, but Père Duchesne and the radicals of the Terror.

Thus, apart from its general interest as a study in the impact of America on West-European literature, the book has a more immediate value for students of Canadian history: it is a contribution to the historiography of New France, from a somewhat unusual and extremely interesting point of view.

D. G. CREIGHTON

Memories of Old St. Andrews and Historical Sketches of the Seigniorship of Argenteuil. By B. N. WALES. Lachute, Que.: Watchman Press. 1934. Pp. 135.

“SEBASTOPOL has fallen! The shout was echoed across the waters of the north River as the steamboat *Buckingham*, its shrill whistle inviting the small boys to witness the landing, approached the wharf [at St. Andrews] one Saturday afternoon in September, 1856” (p. 103). As one of those small boys, Dr. Wales, the author of these very pleasing memories, thus modestly introduces himself. He was then only *five* years old—so he says; but we can cheerfully forgive him for not remembering that he was actually only *four* at the time, seeing that Sebastopol fell early in September, 1855! Clearly a lad of that decade, brought up in St. Andrews amidst the second generation of townspeople, could retain first-hand memories of the earlier generation of pioneers; while his mature experiences within the third and fourth generations, covering the long stretch of years since the '50's, provide the background for this quite precious historical record.

His readers will have only the kindest appreciation of Dr. Wales's sketches, for they are penned with a natural charm that local histories seldom manifest; and they are a fitting tribute, piously and almost reverently conceived, to the memory of the original settlers of St. Andrews. Among the many families of distinguished names, whose pioneering days

are connected with St. Andrews and its neighbourhood, Dr. Wales's review of the growth of the town—its fortunes and misfortunes—will, of course, have a special appeal. Historians in the wider field will do well not to overlook incidental bits and suggestions of information bearing upon industrial and trading life, river and land transport, scales of prices, the effects of the routing of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and denominational and educational history relating to the Lower Ottawa Valley. It goes without saying that the recently formed historical society of the County of Argenteuil will accord this volume an honoured place on its library shelves; but really the work deserves a more extensive recognition.

C. E. FRYER

Cornelius Krieghoff: Pioneer Painter of North America. By MARIUS BARBEAU. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. [x], 152. (\$7.50)

THIS handsome book is the most complete monograph on a Canadian painter that so far has been produced. The thoroughness of research and the critical analysis that Mr. Barbeau has put into it are justified by the importance of Krieghoff's position in the history of art in Canada. It is conceivable that not all *connoisseurs* may be able to feel so great an admiration for Krieghoff's work as does his biographer; but this is a question for the art critics to wrangle over, and tastes inevitably will differ with temperaments, and fluctuate with fashion. Historian and critic alike, however, must surely be thankful for the enthusiasm that inspired such an authoritative and illuminating study.

A study it is, but it is also a story; with all its wealth of information and minute detail, it is nevertheless a living portrait and a picture of the period. Krieghoff, as presented by Mr. Barbeau, is a very real person, in a real world. Here and there the author indulges in a picturesque and imaginative reconstruction of an incident or a situation. A rigid critic of history or biography might object to these unorthodox flights; but they carry us into the picture. They set the figure of the artist into his surroundings. A living drawing possesses a flexible outline, here precise and emphatic, there vague, blurred, lost in its background. Some quality analogous to this seems to mark a good biography. And Mr. Barbeau has this quality of flexible outline, while at the same time he makes quite clear the distinction between ascertained fact and imaginative speculation. His book contains a surprisingly large number of facts, most of them the result of his own intensive research. He has followed Krieghoff's elusive wanderings with persistence, he has fixed with precision the dates and origins of most of his pictures, he has corrected many mis-statements, and he gives the sources of his information with the completeness and definiteness of the true historian.

In addition to the interest of Krieghoff's pictures for the art lover, they have great value for the historian as authentic records of the life of their time. No student of the social history of Canada, and more particularly of Quebec, can afford to neglect them. They show us graphically and in detail many things which have already disappeared or are rapidly passing away, and on which written or verbal records are vague or silent. Mr. Barbeau for years has shown Canadians how much

they may learn about their past by looking beyond the official document and the printed word to the handicrafts, the folk-lore, the songs, the occupations, the houses of the people. His book adds to his services to historical writers by directing their attention to such neglected sources as Krieghoff's pictures. He is a discriminating guide: he is careful to point out some minor errors and conventionalities in the artist's work, such, for instance, as the introduction of the type of exposed chimney peculiar to the Montreal district in pictures of scenes in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where such features were unusual. Hints and warnings of this kind are of great value to the reconstructor of the past.

Features of the book especially useful to collectors, art galleries, and museums are the chronological list of Krieghoff's dated pictures, the *catalogue raisonné* of almost five hundred of his works, classified according to subject, containing an enormous amount of information, and reproductions of specimens of his signatures, with notes, contributed by Mr. W. R. Watson, the picture expert, of Montreal. Numerous reminiscences, gathered from personal acquaintances of the painter give interest and piquancy to the story.

Fourteen of Krieghoff's pictures are excellently reproduced in colour. Typographically, the book has character and distinction. The printers, Rous and Mann, as well as the publishers, are to be congratulated on the production of a volume which is a most admirable example of Canadian book-making.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

A Few of the Old Gates at Thornhill and some Nearby Farms, carefully drawn by THOREAU MACDONALD. Toronto: The Woodchuck Press, Severn Street. 1933. 15 drawings. (50 cents)

A Year on the Farm, or the Woodchuck's Almanac. Drawings by THOREAU MACDONALD. Toronto: The Woodchuck Press. 1934. 14 drawings. (75 cents)

MR. MACDONALD's drawings have won well-deserved admiration by their artistic qualities of design and individual expression; but they have also a special interest and value to the social historian of rural Ontario. They are faithful records of certain features of the life of the past that are fast disappearing under modern conditions. The purpose and spirit of these charming little books are expressed in Mr. MacDonald's few prefatory words: "In old days, when cows roamed the roads, every house had its white fence, and the gates were a form of village art, the iron work came from the village blacksmith shop. . . . They represent well the honest workmanship and love of home of Old Ontario."

A year on the farm preserves some examples of folk-lore that smack strongly of the soil and the seasons. Not long ago every time had its appropriate saying. "Plant corn when oak leaves are big as a squirrel's ear", "A shining plow makes a full mow", and that inspired lyrical outburst, "Forty bushel to the acre makes us thankful to our Maker" are here, with others, each accompanied by a drawing full of character and local colour.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey: The History of Sports in Canada and of the Sportsmen of Peel 1798 to 1934. By WM. PERKINS BULL. (The Perkins Bull Historical Series.) Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation. George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1934. Pp. xxvii, 564. (\$10.00)

THIS, the second volume to be published in Mr. Perkins Bull's monumental history of Peel County, is devoted to sports. It is a monumental work in itself with its introductory notes by well-known sportsmen, its twenty-two chapters, seven appendices, bibliography, and almost two hundred illustrations, eight of them beautifully done in full colour. Eighteen chapters are devoted to individual sports from shooting, hunting, fishing, cock-fighting, and horse-racing to baseball, lacrosse, and hockey—and surely among the hundreds of names mentioned every local celebrity from the earliest days of the county is here immortalized including the gamest cocks and the fleetest horses. With so much of petty detail to be included the book might have degenerated into little more than a catalogue, interesting only to those familiar with the community. From this fate it is delivered by several devices not the least of them being anecdotes liberally scattered about, doubtless well authenticated, and in any case typical of the lore in almost every corner of rural Ontario; Maulveney Nixon, a "great mauler" and a mighty man at barn-raising, who was "saved" with pleasing regularity at every revival and accustomed to announce his fervent faith "in a voice audible throughout the township"; the "forty fighting coopers" and other "local musclemen" who enlivened village main streets on Saturday nights; the hired man who chased a coon into a great hollow basswood log already occupied by four pole-cats,—these and many others pass in review before us.

In this compilation of typical fact and anecdote lies probably the chief value of the book as history. The sports and games of every community reveal much of its interests and temper, and in giving us an intimate picture of one county Mr. Bull, as he points out, has given us in miniature much of Ontario. The promise of the sub-title to provide a history of sports in Canada is scarcely fulfilled; but, as the bibliography makes clear, little has been written on the subject, and, in a sense therefore, this may be regarded as a pioneer work. Unlike most of the local history written in Canada, the story of the local community has here the merit of being placed against the background of a rapidly changing world. It might be objected by some that there is a certain amount of irrelevant or unnecessary material, but the present reviewer is not prepared to cavil on that point. Mr. Bull has given us a labour of love, strongly marked by his own enthusiasm and personality, and the book would doubtless have lost some of its interest if the restrictions that would be expected of a professional historian had been imposed upon it.

The entire absence of footnotes seems rather regrettable although doubtless their use would have raised difficult problems. Still one would like to know, for example, something more definite about the case (p. 183), vaguely dated "some forty or fifty years ago", in which it was decided that golf was not a game and therefore not banned by law on Sunday. "It is not noisy", declared the learned judge. "It attracts no

crowds. It is not gambling. It is on a parallel, it seems to me, with a gentleman going out for a walk on Sunday, and, as he walks, switching off the heads of weeds with his walking-stick." We wonder, too, whether at least approximate dates could have been given for a number of pictures which are without them. At some point in the series, also, we might be given more information on certain points in the bibliography, as for example, the extent of the files of local newspapers which are available.

In preparing his series, Mr. Bull has for several years had a large number of assistants engaged in collecting and classifying all the information obtainable from interviews as well as from the printed and other sources. There are some difficulties inherent in such wholesale methods, but the aim of thorough investigation is to be heartily commended and certainly no other county in Ontario has been subjected to so searching an inquiry. Doubtless the permanent disposition of the mass of material collected will be given careful consideration when the series is complete, and at the same time Mr. Bull might perhaps write in brief a history of his history of Peel. The enterprise has been unique in the record of historical writing in Canada, and an intimate account of it by the moving spirit might well be a document of some interest in itself.

GEORGE W. BROWN

Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces. By W. A. MACKINTOSH *et al.* (Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, IV.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1935. Pp. ix, 308. (\$4.00)

THIS volume is the fourth of a series prepared under the direction of the Canadian pioneer problems committee and is devoted to a survey of underlying economic problems of the prairie region of western Canada. The basic problems of the area are regarded as resulting from the association of a highly variable regional income and heavy overhead charges. While attention is focussed particularly on the post-war period and the last five depression years, considerable space is given to the historical background which is discussed in a few brief but comprehensive summaries in the initial chapters and in shorter sections elsewhere throughout the book.

Chapters i to iv are written by Dr. W. A. Mackintosh, the director of the survey, who with Dr. W. L. G. Joerg is responsible for the editing. The first two chapters contain an analysis of the economic factors which have controlled the volume and tempo of settlement during the last half-century. The author's thesis that "the mainsprings of economic development in pioneer regions are to be found in the conditions which govern the outflow of the staple product and the purchasing power which its proceeds represent, together with the inflow of capital and its distribution among the inhabitants" is supported by statistics on production, prices, transportation charges, volume of exports, and technical efficiency in the production of wheat, the dominant staple of the region. The outstanding characteristic of the prairie economy and the chief source of difficulty is the great variation from year to year in the yield, price, and grade of wheat and other cereal crops, which, combined with relatively inflexible

fixed charges, makes for extreme fluctuations in net income. These fluctuations are particularly large in view of the fact that variability in yield on the Canadian plains is not offset to any reliable extent by variability in world prices, and is only moderately related to compensatory fluctuations in grade. The elaboration of the argument in these chapters involves the presentation of many useful historical tables, some dating back as far as 1875. Chapter iii traces the development of railway facilities in the three Prairie Provinces and chapter iv reviews the growth of the marketing organization and regulation of the grain trade. A final chapter by the same author includes a brief history and critical estimate of the various public and private agencies for providing farm credit in the west and summarizes the recent debt adjustment legislation.

The central section of the book is devoted to a study of provincial and municipal finance. Two closely written and carefully reasoned chapters by Professor A. B. Clark and Professor G. O. Elliott give a résumé of past and present practice in public expenditure and taxation in Alberta, and include a highly condensed but valuable discussion of the incidence of the various types of taxes in current use and of the adequacy of the tax structure as a whole. Chapters vii to xi inclusive summarize the results of a more detailed study of public finance in Saskatchewan carried out under the direction of Professor W. W. Swanson. Much new material is presented illustrating, among other things, the comparative inflexibility of both local and provincial revenue requirements, the inequalities of the present distribution of the tax burden, and the relatively more onerous demands of public finance both on the frontier and in selected retrograde municipalities. A serious attempt is made to measure the burden of taxation from year to year and from district to district, and many significant ratios are worked out between tax data, population, agricultural production, and farm returns. The essentially unscientific character of municipal and provincial taxation and the evils deriving therefrom are discussed at length, as well as the critical situation created by the present depression. These chapters constitute a valuable contribution in a field where the lack of comparable and adequate basic data makes analysis most difficult.

In the appendices are included a series of useful historical tables on population, immigration, homestead entries, wheat prices, transportation costs, municipal assessment valuations, tax levies and collections; a brief statistical study of a retrograde area in Alberta by Professor G. A. Elliot; and a survey of public taxation in selected pioneer districts in Manitoba by Professor H. C. Grant. As with previous volumes in this series, the book is well edited and fully documented.

W. B. HURD

On the Shores of Scugog. By SAMUEL FARMER. 2nd edition, revised, enlarged, and illustrated. Port Perry: The Port Perry Star. 1934. Pp. 256. (\$2.00)

THE first edition of this work published in 1913 has been long out of print. Much has been added and it has been made most attractive with its illustrations and the delightful line drawings by Marian Farmer. The first

part is descriptive of various phases of pioneer life in the farming community of Upper Canada. The latter part is the story of the development of the Townships of Reach and Scugog, and the town of Port Perry in the County of Ontario. From early settlers, township and county records, from old directories and newspapers there has been collected and edited a great mass of material relating to the industrial and social changes in the community since the early days when Reuben Crandell in 1821 purchased 400 acres in Reach near the present Prince Albert and induced William Wade in 1823 to take up a farm near the present Manchester that he might have a white neighbour. Schools, churches, the coming of the railway, steam navigation, the epic of grain, the newspapers, the militia, mills and milling are among the subjects presented. It is a local record of value of the type which might well be undertaken in many other parts of Ontario. To index such a work as this would entail much labour but would add to its value and usefulness. The publishing of this and other works on local history reminds us of the lack of depositories for early local records. If local historians had adequate means of storing and preserving valuable records, much might be saved which is now being lost.

J. H. ELLIOTT

Railway Nationalization in Canada: The Problem of the Canadian National Railways. By LESLIE T. FOURNIER. (Publications of the International Finance Section of the Department of Economics and Social Institutions in Princeton University, Walker Foundation.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1935. Pp. xi, 358. (\$3.50)

PROFESSOR Fournier's book is a valuable contribution to the history of railway development in Canada for other reasons than the main one which seems to have actuated him in writing it, *viz.*, to put the case on economic grounds for unified operation of the Canadian railways. Now he puts that case admirably but, as has been pointed out in a review by Professor Brady, railways in Canada are far from being merely an economic problem.¹ They were born of, nourished in, are, and will continue to be, part of Canadian politics. They will continue to be in politics because in the Canadian federal system they are a necessary instrument for the alleviation of territorial inequities.

Mr. Fournier has some hard things to say of the Duff report;² but it must be realized that this report was, as far as economics was involved in it, more a document on the relation of deficits to Canadian public finance than a document on railway economics, and it was written by men who were well aware of the political realities involved in their inquiry. When viewed in that light it was the only kind of report that could be expected, disappointing as it may be to an economist.

The historian will be grateful to Mr. Fournier for his chapters on the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk, and the Grand Trunk Pacific. Here in an orderly way is assembled a mass of troublesome data on the

¹A. Brady, "Railways and the Nation" (*University of Toronto quarterly*, IV, 1935, 404-7).

²*Report of the royal commission to inquire into railways and transportation in Canada, 1931-2* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1932).

construction and finance of those roads. The discussion of finance is especially clear and the author has made excellent use of the material in the archives of the Canadian National Railways. The confusing arbitration proceedings of the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk are here treated with competence and lucidity.

Mr. Fournier, writing of the Duff report (p. 264), agrees that "The Commission's account of the operating results of the two carriers was so very brief as to be of comparatively little value". He also says, however (p. 259), "Thus the general position taken by the Commission was a vindication of the Canadian Pacific Railway"; and the general tone of the book indicates concurrence with this view. Now if the Duff commission's account of operating results was inadequate, would it not seem that Mr. Fournier should have supported the vindication of the Canadian Pacific with detailed and conclusive evidence? Professor McDougall in a review³ and elsewhere has given reasons for a different interpretation of operating results. It will suffice here to point out that there is thus a difference of opinion as to the vindication of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It is perfectly clear that in the years preceding 1929, there was no proper machinery for control of competitive expenditures in purchase and construction; but it seems equally clear that in western Canada the Canadian Pacific was often the aggressor. It would be sufficient in this connection to cite the cases of the purchase of the Peace River lines and the construction of the Willingdon line.

Mr. Fournier throws out hints on some topics that are interesting. Sir Donald Mann's evidence before the Canadian Northern arbitration board to the effect that he tried many times to get an arrangement with the Canadian Pacific for an outlet from the west "but they were not friendly and I could not do it" is interesting enough to demand more inquiry (p. 34). Also his evidence that the Grand Trunk refused to join with the Canadian Northern in building a joint section from Port Arthur to North Bay indicates the genesis of the present railway problem. Sir Robert Borden's proposals in the house in 1903 (p. 14) that the government purchase the Canadian Pacific line north of the Great Lakes for the use of all the railways is relevant, too, at this point. Sir Edward Beatty is quoted to the effect that, at the time of the construction of the Canadian Northern line from Sudbury to Port Arthur, the Canadian Pacific offered, and the Canadian Northern accepted, satisfactory arrangements for the handling of Canadian Northern traffic between the east and the west (p. 15). This statement conflicts directly with Sir Donald Mann's evidence quoted above. It is somewhat amazing that the truth on the matter of railway over-development in Canada is still not available in 1935. One thing that is clear is that it was the over-development east of Winnipeg and in British Columbia which was the cause of the Canadian railway problem and not the excessive branch-line construction in the Prairie Provinces. As a result, these provinces will entertain no railway proposal that would attempt to make them pay for this over-development.

Historians and students of railway economics will be very grateful to

³*Canadian journal of economics and political science*, May, 1935, 299-302.

Mr. Fournier for his book. Even if one dissents from some of his conclusions, it must be agreed that both his descriptive material and his arguments are presented with an unusual lucidity.

R. McQUEEN

R. B. Bennett, Prime Minister of Canada. By ANDREW D. MACLEAN. Fourth edition. Toronto: Excelsior Publishing Company, 27 Charlotte Street. 1935. Pp. 112.

Mackenzie King. By NORMAN MCLEOD ROGERS. A revised and extended edition of a biographical sketch by JOHN LEWIS (published in 1925). Toronto: George N. Morang, T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd. 1935. Pp. xii, 212. (\$1.00)

Woodsworth: Social Pioneer. By OLIVE ZIEGLER. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Company. 1935. Pp. 202. (\$2.00)

THE curious student may find in Canadian public libraries a considerable collection of party pamphlets and speakers' handbooks which has been accumulated during the general elections since Confederation. The documents as a whole are not such as to raise one's opinion of the standards of Canadian public life. They are mainly taken up with lurid opposition accounts of governmental scandals or with statistical governmental demonstrations of how spending has produced prosperity. They leave an inescapable impression that Canadian politics has consisted chiefly of "handouts", proper or improper, to business men on the make. Perhaps it was the perusal of such material that led Principal Maurice Hutton once to remark that Canada's history is as dull as ditchwater and her politics is full of it.

The present 1935 election period has witnessed a new phenomenon. During recent months there have appeared biographical studies of the three party leaders which were presumably written with the election in view, but which are commendably free from the vituperation and hysteria that one associates with Canadian elections, and two of which are likely to be of some permanent interest and value.

The book about Mr. Bennett may be dismissed quickly. Its author is a naïve young business man who has served as secretary to the prime minister and who gives us an admiring picture of one business executive by another. Mr. Bennett is presented as a veritable volcano of energy, but one searches in vain for any exact analysis of what he has done or tried to do. Apparently, in the eyes of the business executive, energy is its own justification. Mr. MacLean by no means leaves out the warts in his portrait, but the things which he admires are frequently remarkable. He tells us that the prime minister "romps through histories as an opiate", that he reached his highest point in a speech on the gold standard on February 29, 1932, on which occasion he was like a giant among pigmies, and that he will go down to history as our greatest minister of finance. Hero-worship among the young is always an attractive spectacle, but one must hope that somewhere in the prime minister's secretariat are individuals equipped with a rather more mature understanding of social and economic problems than Mr. MacLean appears to possess.

The two other books are in a quite different category. They are systematic biographies, and each contains a good deal of material that

is not easily available elsewhere. Professor Rogers presents Mr. King's career as an embodiment of Canadian Liberal principles. He is especially good in dealing with the earlier life of the student, the administrator of the department of labour, the conciliator of industrial disputes. In the opinion of this reviewer his treatment of the record of the King government on the tariff comes much closer to special pleading than one would expect in the writing of a professor of political science. He concludes by declaring that Canadian Liberalism will meet the challenge of this new era with the same pioneering and crusading spirit which it has shown in the past. But one is bound to point out that his own account reveals much more of the pioneering and crusading spirit in the early Mr. King than it does in the prime minister of 1921-30.

Miss Ziegler presents Mr. Woodsworth as a social pioneer in the new industrialized Canada which was growing up after 1900. She gives an attractive account of his evolution from the young Methodist minister interested in social questions to the socialist party leader. While she refrains from much comment, her narrative brings out clearly how each crisis in Mr. Woodsworth's career was caused by the challenge which his interpretation of his principles offered to some vested interest of the well-to-do classes. The weakest part of her book is that which deals with the later parliamentary career of her subject. Here she deserts consecutive narrative for episodes and impressions, and the result is that the process by which the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation emerged from the various protest movements of the 1920's is not really made clear.

What conclusions about Canadian politics would the proverbial philosophic foreign visitor reach after reading these three books? He would be struck by the dominant moralistic tone of all the discussion, which he would doubtless attribute to our Anglo-Saxon puritan inheritance. He would remark that Conservative efforts seemed to be well-meaning but unmeaning, unless certain indications of incipient fascism had any significance, because not based upon any training in social analysis; that the Liberals of the 1930's seemed to be operating with a body of ideas to which final classical expression had been given by young Mr. Macaulay in the debates on the Reform Bill in 1830; and that the C.C.F. seemed to be just another of the populist revolts so typical of North America which were all destined to be futile until they achieved a European understanding of the class struggle. None of these conclusions would be quite fair to the groups concerned. But they would all have enough truth in them to make philosophic Canadians, if there are any such, just a bit uneasy.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Problems of the Pacific, 1931: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Hangchow and Shanghai, China, October 21 to November 2. Edited by BRUNO LASKER assisted by W. L. HOLLAND. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 548. (\$5.00)

Problems of the Pacific, 1933: Economic Conflict and Control. Edited by BRUNO LASKER and W. L. HOLLAND. (Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Banff, Canada,

14-26 August, 1933.) Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xvi, 490. (\$6.25)

Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area. Edited by FREDERICK V. FIELD.

New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1934. Pp. xl, 649. (\$5.00)

THE Institute of Pacific Relations was founded in 1925 by a group of men and women—centred in the main in Honolulu—to study the basic causes of conflict between the nations bordering on, or controlling territory in, the Pacific Ocean. Their methods were threefold: first, to establish in all "Pacific" countries national groups which would make it their duty to investigate and report on conditions within their own countries affecting the relations of other "Pacific" nations and to study the international relations of the Pacific area itself; second, to call biennial conferences of representative men and women from all the member states to discuss the problems of the Pacific; and third, to carry on a programme of objective, long-term research in subjects that seemed to be basic in the relations of the Pacific countries and to make the results of this study and research available to the general public in published volumes and in the quarterly *Pacific affairs*. At the present time there are groups in ten countries which are members of the Institute—Australia, Canada, China, Holland, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, Russia, and the United States of America. France is in the process of organizing a "national council". Mexico and the League of Nations, including the International Labour Organization, have sent observers to the conferences and assisted in the research work.

The 1931 volume of *Problems of the Pacific* is the record of the Shanghai and Hangchow conference together with a selection from the preparatory work done for the conference. This conference was unlike any of the others in that it met in the shadow of an existing, though unofficial, war and included in its membership outstanding representatives of the two conflicting states. This in itself made the holding of the conference a notable achievement and lends to its records an interest and an importance as an historical document that is not shared by any of the other volumes in the series. At the same time, as the preparation for the conference had been made and the agenda agreed upon before the crisis broke, the book necessarily includes much of a non-political character. The first section deals with economic relations in the Pacific; the second with China's economic development; the third with political relations in the Pacific; the fourth with China's international relations; and the fifth with cultural relations in the Pacific. There are, in addition, a number of appendices and a useful index. China, as will be seen from this list of topics, forms the principal subject of discussion, but as the conference was held in China, and as China and her problems are basic in nearly every problem of the Pacific, this is as it should be.

The 1933 volume, however, is a child of the depression for it is devoted almost exclusively to economic issues. It is a record of the conference which was held at Banff, and of the work done in preparation for that conference. The general subject discussed at the conference was "Economic conflict and control in Pacific countries", and under that general head are listed such subjects as shipping, currency, standards of living, labour conditions, Japanese expansion, China's recovery

programme, the Ottawa agreements, and economic conflict and public opinion.

Opinion is divided, even in the institute itself, as to the relative importance of the economic and the political issues. There are those who believe that politics are but the external manifestations of economic forces, and that if we desire to understand and influence political action it is necessary to investigate thoroughly the fundamental economic problems. Others believe that men are so much the victims of their emotions that questions such as race, colour, religion, and nationalism are causes of conflict just as important as are the economic ones. Inasmuch as economic problems, provided they do not include a discussion of the relative merits of capitalism, socialism, and communism, are less likely to arouse passion than are the political issues, they have had the first place in the institute's programme of research and discussion.

These two volumes taken together are a most important study of the conditions and problems, both political and economic, in the Far East during the past six years. Taken in conjunction with the 210 papers of varying quality and importance which were prepared for, and made available at, the two conferences, they form a unique collection of materials on the problems of the Pacific.

The *Economic handbook of the Pacific area* is the outcome of a feeling, often expressed by delegates to conferences of the institute that something should be printed which would give the essential facts and figures about the countries represented. It was prepared, in mimeographed form, for the Banff conference and proved so popular with the delegates, particularly the business men, that it was decided to re-edit and reprint it, and make it available for general distribution. It contains chapters on population, land utilization, food production and consumption, transportation, public finance, capital movements, trade, mineral products, agricultural and textile products, and weights and measures in all the Pacific countries which are members of the Institute. It also contains 5 maps, 569 tables of statistics, an imposing bibliography, and an index. Of it, others have written: "It is a triumph of research and organization"; "The most complete book of its kind yet published"; "A fundamental source-book for all students, journalists, business men, and statesmen". In view of these statements, there is little that one can add save to say that, as it makes easily available information that could not otherwise be obtained without consulting libraries in a number of widely separated countries, it is indispensable to anyone who has any concern with, or interest in, the Far East and the Pacific area.

NORMAN MACKENZIE

NOTES AND COMMENTS

LOCAL CHURCH HISTORIES

SOME months ago the REVIEW requested copies of local church histories published during recent years. Over a dozen were received and the titles have been included in the religious section of the list of recent publications (pp. 357-60). These small fugitive publications are usually lost to view a short time after their appearance. The REVIEW will, therefore, be pleased to receive other titles and to list them in the same way so that some permanent record may be made of them. In view of the important part played by religious bodies in Canadian development it is unfortunate and rather surprising that so few churches have compiled histories. It would be well if they were encouraged by the central organizations to do so, but so far as we are aware little is being done by theological colleges or other religious agencies to promote the study of Canadian church history. This is an unfortunate situation.

In view of the fact that so few churches have attempted any history, it may seem invidious to offer any criticism of those which have come to our attention. We are aware, too, that the writer of such a short sketch may be more interested in edifying and interesting his immediate readers than in satisfying the demands of the critical historian. Nevertheless, an improvement from the historical point of view might be made without sacrificing other aims, and some suggestions may therefore be offered. In the bulk a good deal of time and money is spent on such accounts and they might become a valuable and permanent source of information.

Many of those here listed contain long preambles which add nothing to the local account. The Port Hope sketch, which gives about five pages to the origin of Methodism, including cuts of John, Charles, and Susannah Wesley and Phillip Embury, and something less to Port Hope, offends most in this particular. The weakness of most of the accounts is that they fail to deal adequately with the personal and social. A list of the original subscribers which may mean much locally would be much more significant if some information on the origins, occupations, means, or position in the community of the subscribers were given. In addition, the increase (or decline) in attendance; the amount, method of collection, and method of payment of stipends; the social, or missionary, work undertaken by the church; and the attitudes shown on important social and political questions might well be given.

Some of the publications include messages of congratulation from previous ministers or rectors, which in many cases contain nothing of special value. That they can be made useful supplements to the history of the parish is shown by two printed in the Saskatoon booklet. Possibly the student of the future as well as the contemporary reader would be better served by a brief biographical sketch of each clergyman. Such a sketch in many cases would probably be the only such record. In the best of the accounts the biographical material was worked into the narrative.

The expense connected with illustration is a difficult problem for the publisher of a small church history and the too frequent solution is to use all available cuts regardless of age, size, shape, or screen. The result is unfortunate. On the whole, however, the majority of the accounts under discussion were well printed.

Few of the accounts make any mention of the condition of the church records. While the modern records are not as important as those kept before the official registration of births, deaths, and marriages, they nevertheless have an undeniable value. More care than is apparently the case in general should be given to their preservation, and the church history should contain a note with regard to their completeness and condition.

Among the accounts listed below, those of St. George's Church, Grafton, and St. John's, York Mills, must be singled out for special commendation. The Grafton account, in particular, might well serve as a model for any person contemplating writing a parish history. The title of the York Mills account is not clear. The dates given imply that the history covers the years 1816-43, whereas the years are those in which new churches were built. (J. J. TALMAN)

The following interesting item appears in the June issue of the *Beaver*, published by the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg: "The archives in London include a small book in which Sir George Simpson wrote in his own hand his frank private opinions of everyone in the Fur Trade at about the year 1832. The value of the book had been very limited because Simpson had identified his subordinates by number only. Within recent months Mr. Leveson Gower has found, among Sir George's papers, a single sheet linking names of fur traders with the numbers in the confidential 'character' book. With this key Sir George's personnel system becomes highly interesting reading, and men who are otherwise nominal characters in the history of Western Canada are made quite human beings with vices and virtues duly noted. The character book gives colour and animation to the period and will probably become one of the most quoted documents of the Company archives." The *Beaver* notes that in its previous three numbers sixteen new books having some relation to the company have been reviewed—none of them fiction. In its next issue the *Beaver* hopes to resume the series of articles by Mr. Leveson Gower on the work which is being done in organizing the company's records in London.

The twenty-sixth International Congress of Americanists is to be held on October 12-20 in Seville.

Miss Grace Fox, who has contributed the article on Durham's *Report* in this issue, is on the staff of Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York. Miss Freda Waldon is a graduate of the University of Toronto with special training in Columbia University and in London, England, and is at present head cataloguer of the public library in Hamilton, Ontario. Dr. W. D. Overman is curator of history and archivist of the Ohio State museum at Columbus, Ohio. Professor E. Wilson Lyon is on the staff

of Colgate University and is the author of *Louisiana in French diplomacy, 1759-1804*. We are again much indebted to Professor W. P. M. Kennedy of the University of Toronto for his review article and to Professor W. B. Kerr of the University of Buffalo for an addition to his bibliographies which we have previously printed on Canada's participation in the Great War. It appears as the last section of the list of recent publications.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The *British Columbia Historical Association* held its annual meeting in the provincial library, parliament buildings, Victoria, B.C., on October 19, 1934. Reports were read by the treasurer, and the convenors of committees on mining, local features, marine, and necrology. The following officers were elected: president, Mr. Harold T. Nation; first vice-president, Dr. T. A. Rickard; second vice-president, Mr. B. A. McKelvie; hon. secretary, Mrs. Arthur H. Cree; hon. treasurer, Mr. George McTavish; editor, Dr. W. N. Sage. The association has been particularly fortunate in its programmes during the past season. On the evening of November 23, the Hon. Dr. S. F. Tolmie, ex-premier, spoke on the part taken by his father, Dr. S. F. Tolmie, and his grandfather, the Hon. John Work, in the early settlement of the Pacific coast. At the second quarterly meeting Dr. T. A. Rickard, scientist and historian, gave a brilliant address entitled, "Frobisher's quest". At a special meeting on January 25, the artist, Mr. R. Lindemere of Battleford, read a paper dealing with historic events of the North West Territories. The third quarterly meeting was held in the provincial museum, and Mr. H. D. Parizeau, chief hydrographer for the department of marine, spoke on "B.C. coast names"; to illustrate the methods adopted by himself and his staff, the speaker exhibited an enlargement of the Nootka sheet, which he explained in detail. A special meeting on March 22 was addressed by His Honour Judge Howay on "The Spanish on this coast".

The centenary of the famous coast ship *Beaver*, which was launched on May 7, 1835, was marked by a meeting of the association in the provincial archives on May 10. Many relics of the old vessel were on exhibition, and the largest piece of timber remaining from the hulk of the *Beaver* was presented to the archives department during the evening. An interesting paper was read by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, and these presentations were accepted by Dr. Kaye Lamb, archivist and librarian.

The annual dinner to commemorate the arrival of Richard Blanshard, the first governor of the crown colony of Vancouver Island, was held on March 19 at the Empress Hotel. (M. R. CREE, secretary)

Canadian Political Science Association. The papers read at the seventh annual meeting of the association at Queen's University in May last have been published in the August number of *The Canadian journal of economics and political science*. Mr. R. H. Coats, dominion statistician, was elected president of the association for 1935-6. Mr. V. W. Bladen, University of Toronto, was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

Les Dix. This important group of French-Canadian historians was

organized since our last issue and was incorporated by letters patent from the province of Quebec, dated July 11, 1935. The members are: Olivier Maurault, Victor Morin, Aegidius Fauteux, E.-Z. Massicotte, Gérard Malchelosse, Montarville Boucher de la Bruère, A. Beaugrand-Champagne, all of Montreal; P.-G. Roy of Quebec; A. Tessier of Three Rivers; and F.-J. Audet of Ottawa. Dr. Morin has been chosen permanent secretary. The meetings will be held in the Château Ramezay on the last Saturday of every month from September to May. The first number of *Les cahiers des Dix* is planned for this autumn and will contain a paper by each member on some subject touching "la petite histoire canadienne". *Le Devoir* of Montreal has in its issues of July 27 and August 3, two very interesting articles explaining fully the aims and activities of the group. The name, *Les Dix*, is a significant one in French Canada as it has been used on two previous occasions by groups now extinct: the *Club des Dix* of Ottawa organized in 1882, which included A.-D. De Celles, Alfred Garneau, and Benjamin Sulte; and the *Cercle des Dix* of Quebec, founded in 1893. The group now organized will have rather different aims and, in particular, will interest itself in historical writing. In addition to publishing *Les cahiers*, the members will give mutual assistance in publishing other works and will make themselves responsible for papers left by any member on his death. The group also plans to organize a library and archives collection.

The Fraser Canyon Historical Association, B.C., which will concern itself with Hope, Yale, Lytton, etc., was organized at Yale on May 24, 1935. President, Mr. T. L. Thacker, Little Mountain, Hope, B.C.; secretary, the Rev. H. H. K. Greene.

The Historical Society of Argenteuil County, incorporated November, 1934, will hold its first annual meeting in September and plans to have a loan exhibition in the town hall of St. Andrews East. The society is establishing a bureau for the preservation of historical documents, genealogical records, and biographies of important residents of the county. It also plans to establish a county historical museum. President, Dr. B. N. Wales, whose volume on *Memories of old St. Andrews and historical sketches of the seigniory of Argenteuil* is reviewed in this issue of the REVIEW; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Walter Windsor, St. Andrews East, P.Q.

The Kingston Historical Society, with the co-operation of the Kiwanis Club of Kingston, has moved the building formerly next St. Paul's Church on Queen Street in Kingston, where Governor John Graves Simcoe first met with his executive council in 1792, to the Kiwanis Square, a public playground on Rideau Street. The owners of the house, Edwin Chown and Son, Kingston, who were also affiliated with the local historical society, offered it to the society on condition that it be moved to another site. The building had been moved from its original site after the War of 1812. It was officially opened on its new site on July 8, 1935,—143 years to the day after Governor Simcoe took the oath of office in St. George's Church, Kingston. The plaque which has been placed on the building was dedicated on behalf of the city by Alderman Douglas Chown.

On August 1, the Kingston Historical Society's museum at Murney Redoubt in Macdonald Park, Kingston, observed its tenth anniversary. It was opened officially on August 1, 1925, by Mr. W. F. Nickle of Kingston, then attorney-general of Ontario, and had about 75 articles on exhibition. This year the number is about 200, in addition to the equipment with which the defence was furnished for fighting purposes. The fortification was built in 1846 but has never been called into action as a fighting unit. It is one of five fortifications about Kingston defending the entrance to the Rideau Canal. Mr. Frank Belch is the present custodian. (W. STEWART LAVELL, secretary)

The Lundy's Lane Historical Society constructed early in May a cairn to mark the site of the noted Niagara Falls Pavilion Hotel and to commemorate the "City of the Falls Project". It was unveiled with suitable ceremonies on the king's silver jubilee day, May 6.

Similkameen Historical Association. A special meeting of the association was convened on July 6 to meet Dr. W. K. Lamb, the provincial librarian and archivist, and the members listened with much interest to his address on the provincial library and archives and his work in connection with them. (JOHN GOODFELLOW, secretary)

La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique. At the annual meeting for 1935 which was held in Montreal, the Rev. Edgar Thivierge read a documented study on "La naissance du diocèse d'Ottawa".

La Société Historique d'Ottawa has held three meetings at which M. George Buxton spoke on "Débats du parlement britannique sur le gouvernement responsable au Canada de 1834 à 1850", Senator Gustave Lacasse on "Aux avant-postes de l'Ontario", and Major Gustave Lanctot on "Les histoires qu'on nous raconte".

La Société Nicoletaine d'Histoire Régionale. Under the above name, a new historical society was founded at Nicolet, on May 13, 1935, thanks to the initiative of the Abbé Adélard Desrosiers. The following officers have been elected: president, Canon Calixte Arsenault; vice-president, Théo. Vanasse; secretary-treasurer, the Abbé Walter House; librarians-archivists, the Abbés Émile Lauzière and Antoine Letendre. The society holds its meetings at the Seminary of Nicolet, where are to be found an extensive library with numerous Canadiana and old newspapers as well as the important collection of manuscripts gathered by the Abbé Bois. On the same day, M. P. F. Thomas Charland read a paper on "A memorialist, the Abbé Jacques Paquin". At the second meeting of the society in June, M. Rodolphe Courchesne presented a paper on the Nicolet militia, covering the ground from the French régime to the Great War. (G. LANCTOT)

The Waterloo Historical Society is to be congratulated on the general excellence of its twenty-first and twenty-second annual reports of 1933 and 1934 respectively, which are published and bound in one volume. These reports contain a number of very interesting and informative papers which are noted separately in the REVIEW's list of recent publications. We should like to draw attention to the steady growth of the historical collection in the society's museum and to the fact that it includes a bound file of county newspapers of great value for purposes of reference.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

AFELT, FRIEDRICH. *Das Britische Reich als völkerrechtsverbundene Staatengemeinschaft*. (Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien herausgegeben von der Leipziger Juristen-Fakultät, heft 90.) Leipzig: Verlag von Theodor Weicher. 1934. Pp. vii, 208. To be reviewed later.

COUPLAND, R. *The empire in these days: An interpretation*. London: Macmillan and Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1935. Pp. vii, 276. (\$2.50) Reviewed on page 309.

DARVALL, FRANK. *Which way peace?* (Queen's quarterly, XLII (2), summer, 1935, 264-71). A discussion of the growing divergence of opinion in the British Commonwealth as to foreign policy.

Empire migration (Round table, no. 97, Dec., 1934, 60-78). Considerations which show that the chances of the future are against any great tide of migration from Great Britain to the dominions.

GARCEAU, OLIVER. *The Ottawa conference: An experiment in indirect imperialism* (Harvard business review, XIII (3), spring, 1935, 381-92).

LEAKE, H. MARTIN. *Unity, national and imperial*. With a preface by Sir EDWARD GRIGG. London: George Allen and Unwin. [Toronto: Thos. Nelson and Sons.] 1935. Pp. 320. (\$2.50) Essays on agricultural problems and land settlement in England and the empire.

POLLET, E. *L'Empire britannique* (Revue d'économie internationale, fév., 1935, 233-48). Discusses the Ottawa agreements, industries in the dominions, commercial relations, etc.

SMITH, HERBERT ARTHUR (ed.). *Great Britain and the law of nations: A selection of documents illustrating the views of the government in the United Kingdom upon matters of international law*. Vol. II: *Territory* (part 1). London: P. S. King and Son. 1935. Pp. x, 422. (16s.) To be reviewed later.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(A special list of references on Canada's part in the Great War is printed on pages 364-6).

(1) General History

BROUILLETTE, BENOIT. *Le Canada par l'image*. Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1935. Pp. 133. (\$1.50) This little book is attractive and informative. It describes concisely the physical, human, and economic factors of Montreal, the Province of Quebec, and Canada as a whole. The text is captivating, the illustrations interesting, and the typography excellent.

GEORGI, JOHANNES. *Mid-ice: The story of the Wegener expedition to Greenland*. Translated by F. H. LYON. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company. 1934. Pp. xiv, 248. (12s. 6d.) The first account published in English of the great German expedition which spent most of 1929, 1930, and 1931 in Greenland.

HOLAND, HJALMAR R. *The "myth" of the Kensington stone* (New England quarterly, VIII (1), March, 1935, 42-62). An answer to the arguments and objections which Mr. M. M. Quaife made against the authenticity of the Kensington stone in *New England quarterly*, Dec., 1934.

- LINDSAY, MARTIN. *The British trans-Greenland expedition, 1934* (Geographical journal, LXXXV (5), May, 1935, 393-411).
- LODGE, ELEANOR C. and THORNTON, GLADYS A. (eds.). *English constitutional documents, 1307-1485*. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1935. Pp. xxv, 430. (\$3.75) Reviewed on page 309.
- MITCHELL, J. LESLIE. *Earth conquerors: The lives and achievements of the great explorers*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1934. Pp. viii, 370. (\$4.00) Although lively reading this book is of but petty interest to students of Canadian history, and then only in its romanticized account of the early Norse voyages. The author is primarily concerned with man's tragic, romantic, and ceaseless search for the illusory Earthly Paradise.
- NUNN, GEORGE E. *The Imago Mundi and Columbus* (American historical review, XL (4), July, 1935, 646-61). An attempt to determine the actual influence of the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly on Columbus.
- OUTHWAITE, LEONARD. *Unrolling the map: The story of exploration*. With drawing of ships by GORDON GRANT and fifty-six specially devised maps. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1935. Pp. xiv, 351. (\$3.75) An attempt to give a vivid birds'-eye view of exploration since earliest days of Mediterranean civilization. It succeeds admirably by means of short notes and vivid black and white maps showing the expanding area brought within the European ken. It has a useful index and bibliography, and would be a valuable acquisition for any school library.
- PEARKES, G. R. *The burthen and the brunt: A short description of the service of the British regular army in Canada* (Canadian defence quarterly, XII (4), July, 1935, 387-96). A sketch of its history, organization, and uniform.
- ROBBINS, CHARLES L. *School history of the American people*. In collaboration with ELMER GREEN. Revised edition. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Company. Pp. xxvi, 611. (\$1.60) A simple, clearly written, and well-illustrated text-book; the early chapters on discovery, exploration, and colonization, the English and French colonies, and the American Revolution touch on the history of Canada, and the story of the Revolution is told with considerable impartiality.
- ROZ, FIRMIN. *L'histoire du Canada: 1534-1934*. Paris: Hartmann. 1934. Pp. xxi, 331. (25 fr.)
- SÉE, HENRI et RÉBILLON, ARMAND. *Le XVII^e siècle*. (Clio, introduction aux études historiques—6.) Avant-propos de S. CHARLÉTY. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1934. Pp. xxiii, 410. This volume is one of an admirable new series of text-books which should be brought to the attention of all history teachers. As one would expect from the authors there is considerable emphasis upon social and economic matters, a fact which adds fresh attraction to a much studied period. The sections devoted to unsettled problems are a valuable innovation in such a book. The bibliographical lists are particularly helpful. New France receives only a passing reference. (R.M.S.)
- SQUIRES, JAMES DUANE. *British propaganda at home and in the United States from 1914-1917*. (Harvard historical monographs, VI.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1935. Pp. xi, 113. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.
- STEJNEGER, LEONHARD. *An early account of Bering's voyages* (Geographical review, XXIV (4), Oct., 1935, 638-42). A translation from the Danish of Peder von Haven who in 1747 gave the first authentic account of Bering's second expedition to the western world.
- WEINBERG, ALBERT K. *Manifest destiny: A study of nationalist expansionism in American history*. (The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, The Johns Hopkins University.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1935. Pp. xiii, 559. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

(2) New France

- ALEYRAC, JEAN-BAPTISTE D'. *Aventures militaires au XVIII^e siècle*. D'après les mémoires de Jean-Baptiste d'Aleyrac, publiés par CHARLES COSTE. Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault. 1935. Pp. 134. With 14 plates and 2 maps. To be reviewed later.
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *La merveilleuse aventure de Jacques Cartier*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1934. Pp. 117. (75c.) An interesting but rather disconnected group of selections from Cartier's *Journal*, Charlevoix's *Histoire . . . de la Nouvelle-France*, and other books, contemplated to arouse interest in Cartier's dreams of empire in America among those who know little of the "great adventure". The plates are particularly attractive. (R.M.S.)
- BONNAULT, CLAUDE de. *Une leçon du Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (7), juillet, 1935, 412-5). A note on military absolutism in New France.
- CARON, IVANHOË. *Les origines démographiques des Canadiens-Français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (6), juin, 1935, 362-73). A study in population from 1608 to 1760.
- JOBIN, ANTOINE J. *The first Frenchmen in Michigan* (Michigan history magazine, XIX (2-3), spring and summer, 1935, 231-51). The story of French expansion towards the west.
- KELLOGG, LOUISE P. (trans. and ed.). *La Chapelle's remarkable retreat through the Mississippi Valley, 1760-61* (Mississippi Valley historical review, XXII (1), June, 1935, 63-81). A translation of documents concerning the retreat of the Sieur Passerat de la Chapelle from Canada to New Orleans. The documents were printed, in French, in *Nova Francia* in 1933.
- MACDONALD, C. GOODRIDGE. *Fame passed them by* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XXI (6), June, 1935, 9). The story of De Colombat and the Battle of Rivière des Prairies in 1690 against the Iroquois.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *A cheval sur un âne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (7), juillet, 1935, 444-5). An item on donkeys in New France.
- *Le sergent Francour, normand de nation* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (6), juin, 1935, 350-2). A note on a seventeenth-century soldier.
- PEASE, THEODORE CALVIN and WERNER, RAYMOND C. (eds.). *The French foundations, 1680-1693*. (Collections of the Illinois State historical library, XXIII, French series, I.) Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State historical library. 1934. Pp. xiv, 426. To be reviewed later.
- ROUSSEAU, PAUL. *Les Acadiens* (Revue des études historiques, Jan.-March, 1935).

(3) British North America before 1867

- BEMIS, SAMUEL FLAGG. *The diplomacy of the American Revolution: The foundations of American diplomacy, 1775-1823*. (The American Historical Association.) New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1935. Pp. xiii, 293. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- A brief account of Raleigh's Roanoke colony of 1585 being a guide to an exhibition commemorating the three hundred fiftieth anniversary of the planting of the first English colony in what is now the United States of America, and particularly describing the endeavours and accomplishments of the above-mentioned Raleigh, Thomas Hariot, John White, Richard Hakluyt, Theodore DeBry and Sir Francis Drake*. Directed to the adventurers and favours of the book-collecting game by the William L. Clements library wherein the said exhibition may be viewed. (Bulletin XXII of the William L. Clements library, University of Michigan.) Ann Arbor: The Ann Arbor Press. 1935. Pp. 18. A delightfully printed pamphlet decorated with copies of John White's Indians as engraved by DeBry.

- CARR, PAUL OMEGA. *The defense of the frontier, 1760-1775* (University of Iowa studies, Studies in the social sciences, X (3), Nov. 1, 1934, 46-59). An abstract of a thesis which deals with the occupation and organization of the western territory, the distribution of troops, the Indian uprising of 1763, the withdrawal of the British army from the west after 1768, and the collapse of Indian resistance to westward expansion in 1774.
- COREY, ALBERT BICKMORE. *Relations of Canada with the United States from 1830 to 1842* (Clark University abstracts of dissertations and theses, 1934, 33-7). An abstract of a thesis which deals with relations between Upper and Lower Canada and the United States and with British-American relations where these involved Canada.
- DALE, ALLAN. *Chateauguay* (Canadian geographical journal, XI (1), July, 1935, 33-41). An account of the Battle of Chateauguay. With illustrations.
- Les élections autrefois (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (6), juin, 1935, 384). A note pointing to corruption in an election in Quebec in 1834.
- ELLIOTT, T. C. *John McLoughlin* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVI (2), June, 1935, 182-6). Documents concerning the medical education of McLoughlin and his field of practice before he interested himself in the fur-trade.
- HARRINGTON, VIRGINIA D. *The New York merchant on the eve of the Revolution*. (Studies in history, economics and public law, edited by the faculty of political science, of Columbia University, no. 404.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1935. Pp. 389. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- KINCHEN, OSCAR ARVLE. *Lord John Russell and Canadian self-government, 1835-41* (University of Iowa studies, Studies in the social sciences, X (3), Nov. 1, 1934, 104-25). An abstract of a thesis which is an attempt to clarify the position that Russell assumed toward the struggle for self-government in the Canadas and to show, in its true perspective, his place in the development of British imperial policy.
- LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. *Le député Pierre Saint-Julien et ses alliés* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (7), juillet, 1935, 433-4). Pierre Saint-Julien was deputy in Lower Canada, 1809-14.
- MAULEVRIER, Le Comte de COLBERT. *Voyage dans l'intérieur des États-Unis et au Canada*. Avec une introduction et des notes par GILBERT CHINARD. (Historical documents, Institut Français de Washington, cahier VIII.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1935. Pp. xxiii, 87. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.
- MITCHELL, ROSS. *John Rowland, chief factor* (Beaver, outfit 266, no. 1, June, 1935, 37-40). Rowland was a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Edmonton, and became a councillor of Rupert's Land in 1839.
- NIXON, LILY LEE. *Colonel James Burd in the campaign of 1759* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XVIII (2), June, 1935, 109-24). Throws interesting light on road-building and transportation facilities in the vicinity of Fort Pitt during the Seven Years' War.
- PANABAKER, D. N. *Living conditions in Pennsylvania, 18th century* (Twenty-second annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1934, 75-80). A brief account which forms a background to the emigration from Pennsylvania to Waterloo County.
- PECK, EPAPHRODITUS. *The Loyalists of Connecticut*. (Tercentenary commission of the state of Connecticut, committee on historical publications.) New Haven, Conn.: Published for the tercentenary commission by the Yale University Press. 1934. Pp. 31. This, the thirty-first of a series of pamphlets now being published by the tercentenary commission of the State of Connecticut, gives a clear and interesting account of the Loyalists in Connecticut, pointing out in particular that the line between the parties was there "more clearly marked than anywhere else, and coincided generally with the line of denominational cleavage".

- PRATT, FLETCHER. *The heroic years: Fourteen years of the Republic 1801-1815*. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 1934. Pp. 352. (\$3.00.) This volume dealing with the United States before and during the War of 1812 is a well-developed example of that latter-day school of historical writing whose primary aim is to entertain the tired business-man. Research is admittedly a tedious pursuit, and the author, having Henry Adams and other distinguished assistants at his beck, and possessing to boot a highly productive imagination (see for instance his account of the preliminaries to the capture of Michilimackinac in 1812, p. 225) has not troubled himself with it too much. The style sometimes suggests a rather incomplete and unhappy collaboration between Mr. Guedalla and the late Thomas Carlyle. (C. P. STACEY)
- RYDJORD, JOHN. *Foreign interest in the independence of New Spain: An introduction to the War for Independence*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1935. Pp. xii, 347. (\$3.00).
- SCOTT, ERNEST. *The Canadian and United States transported prisoners of 1839*. (Paper read at the science congress, Melbourne, January, 1935.) (Reprinted from the Journal and proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society, XXI, part 1.) Pp. 18. An excellent lecture on the Canadian rebels who were sent to Australia.
- SCOTT, LESLIE M. *Oregon, Texas and California, 1846* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVI (2), June, 1935, 154-62). Some pertinent negations to current errors regarding the events connected with the Oregon Treaty of 1846.
- SMITH, JOE PATTERSON. *The Republican expansionists of the early reconstruction era*. (A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy, department of history, 1930). Private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago libraries, Chicago, Illinois, 1933. Pp. iii, 129 (planographed). To be reviewed later.
- STEVENSON, JOHN A. *The unsolved death of Thomas Simpson, explorer* (Beaver, outfit 266, no. 1, June, 1935, 17-20, 64-6). An account of the life and Arctic explorations of Thomas Simpson who was killed by half-breed assassins in the Red River Valley in 1840.
- THOMPSON, EDWARD. *Sir Walter Raleigh: The last of the Elizabethans*. London: Macmillan and Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1935. Pp. xv, 387. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

- AIKIN, J. ALEX. *Rewriting the national constitution* (Canadian forum, XV (174), March, 1935, 207-11). An analysis of the situation which has led to the appointment of a committee of the house of commons to study and report on the best method for amending the B.N.A. Act so as to give adequate power to the federal authority to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are national in scope.
- BORDEAUX, HENRY. *Nouvelle et vieille France: Une mission au Canada*. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1934. Pp. ii, 238. (12 frs.) A member of the French Academy gives this account of a visit to Quebec and Ontario in 1934. It is highly coloured by his enthusiasm.
- Canada's "new deal" programme (Round table, no. 99, June, 1935, 584-93).
- DAFOE, J. W. *A foreign policy for Canada* (Queen's quarterly, XLII (2), summer, 1935, 161-70).
- DEXTER, GRANT. *Unravel constitution snarl* (Financial post, April 6, 1935, 11). The writer states that with the major political parties at Ottawa in agreement, a solution to the problem of amending the B.N.A. Act is in sight.

- GRANT, W. L. *The civil service of Canada* (Canadian forum, XV (173), Feb., 1935, 171-2).
- HARMAN, DAVIDSON. *The first Upper Canada College Rifle Corps* (Canadian defence quarterly, XII (4), July, 1935, 477-8). The writer was a member of the Upper Canada College Rifle Corps about 68 years ago.
- JEFFERYS, CHARLES W. *Fifty years ago: Scenes of the Rebellion of 1885 revived in sketch and story by Canada's noted historic artist* (Canadian geographical journal, X (6), June, 1935, 259-69).
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Appeals to the judicial committee* (South African law times, IV (5), May, 1935, 95-6).
- LEGGET, ROBERT F. *The professions and parliament* (Canadian forum, XV (173), Feb., 1935, 180-2). An examination, by professions, of the personnel of the federal parliament.
- MACFARLANE, R. O. *Provinces versus dominion* (Queen's quarterly, XLII (2), summer, 1935, 203-14). A discussion of the social and economic basis of the conflict between federal and provincial rights.
- MACKENZIE, NORMAN. *Canada's position in the event of war* (Saturday night, April 27, 1935, 2).
- MACKINTOSH, W. A. *The progress of Canada's recovery* (International affairs, XIV (3), May-June, 1935, 389-401).
- MIDDLETON, EDGAR. *Beaverbrook*. London: Kegan Paul. 1934. Pp. 251. (9s. 6d.) An uncritical account of a remarkable career.
- The premier speaks to the people: The prime minister's January radio broadcasts issued in book form*. Ottawa: Dominion Conservative Headquarters. 1935. In five pamphlets. Pp. 20, 20, 19, 18, 26.
- REID, ESCOTT. *Can Canada remain neutral?* (Dalhousie review, XV (2), July, 1935, 135-48). Discusses the question of Canada's neutrality in the event of Great Britain becoming involved in a major war.
- *Democracy and political leadership in Canada* (University of Toronto quarterly, IV (4), July, 1935, 534-49). An attempt to assess the menace of anti-democratic movements in Canada in the near future.
- ROZ, FIRMIN et E. PRÉCLIN. *L'influence de la France sur la vie intellectuelle des Canadiens-Anglais et des États-Unis: Langue, culture, littérature et mouvement des idées* (France-Amérique, mai-juin, 1935, 111-2). Translated in *Quebec*, X (3), April, 1935, 47-8.
- TEVENSON, J. A. *The coming Canadian election* (Fortnightly, July, 1935, 21-30). A survey of the political situation by the correspondent for *The Times*.
- T. *Canada and the Far East* (Foreign affairs, XIII (3), April, 1935, 388-97). An examination of Canada's concern in, and influence on, the Far Eastern situation.
- WALKER, C. C. *The Royal Canadian Air Force* (Canadian defence quarterly, XII (4), July, 1935, 460-6).
- ZIEGLER, OLIVE. *Woodsword, social pioneer*. (Authorized sketch.) With a foreword by Dr. SALEM BLAND. Illustrated. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company. 1934. Pp. xii, 202. (\$2.00) Reviewed on page 336.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- DAYE, VERA LYLA. *The capital of New Brunswick* (Saturday night, June 1, 1935, 5). This issue of *Saturday night* also prints a number of interesting pictures of historical landmarks in Fredericton.

FALCONER, J. W. *The scenery of Nova Scotia* (Dalhousie review, XV (2), July, 1935, 149-54). Some descriptions of Nova Scotia from early times.

The Halifax *Herald* celebrated its diamond jubilee with a special number on March 12, 1935. This issue contains a special section of superficial surveys of the changes in Halifax in the last sixty years.

The Sydney *Post-record* on June 10, 1935, printed a special edition in celebration of Sydney's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary containing: descriptive accounts of Cape Breton; a tabloid history of Sydney; an article by Will R. Bird on Louisbourg; a review of the history of St. George's Church, Sydney; a history of telegraph and cable in Cape Breton; an account of the career of Lord Dundonald who was killed at Louisbourg; a note on the earliest recorded document concerning Cape Breton; and numerous odds and ends of interest in the history of Sydney and Cape Breton.

TOMKINSON, GRACE. *A half-deserted village of New Brunswick* (Dalhousie review, XV (2), July, 1935, 219-29). A history of the rise and fall of Saint Martins, N.B.

WHIDDEN, DAVID GRAHAM. *Genealogical record of the Antigonish Whiddens and a brief historical outline of the province of Nova Scotia and of the county and town of Antigonish*. Wolfville, N.S.: The author. 1930. Pp. 24.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BONNAULT, CLAUDE de. *Démocratie canadienne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (6), juin, 1935, 353-61). Historical comments on the noble ancestry and true democracy of the French Canadians.

BRINLEY, GORDON. *Away to the Gaspé*. Illustrated by PUTNAM BRINLEY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1935. Pp. viii, 200. (\$2.50) A lively account of a leisurely camping trip by motor round the Gaspé Peninsula via the Perron highway. The book is written in narrative form as the adventures of "Dan", an artist, and "The Duchess", his wife. It presents, incidentally, a good deal of definite information and practical advice. The end-papers show an illustrated map of the peninsula by Gordon Brinley. Throughout the narrative are bits of history and folk-lore, and descriptions of villages, churches, native life, wild flowers, cod-fishing, game, handicrafts, etc. The volume ends with some notes on cod-fishing quoted from a publication of the provincial tourist bureau, Quebec, and tables of the various Gaspé routes, with mileages. Interesting to anyone planning to make the Gaspé trip; and a pleasure, with its sketches, to anyone who has already made it. (J. JARVIS)

CROUZET-BEN-ABEN, JEANNE-P. *Impressions françaises au Canada: Vers Gaspé* (Grande revue, nov., 1934; janv., 1935).

DEMERS, PHILIPPE. *Le Richelieu historique* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, V (3), juillet-sept., 1935, 289-307). A history of the valley of the Richelieu River.

HARVEY, D. C. (comp.). *Holland's description of Cape Breton Island and other documents*. (Public archives of Nova Scotia, Publication no. 2.) Halifax, 1935. Pp. 168. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *La rue Saint-Alexandre et le Faubourg d'Ailleboust* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (7), juillet, 1935, 409-11). Notes on a section of Montreal.

WHELDON, EMILY KENDALL. *Where the east begins* (Canadian geographical journal, X (6), June, 1935, 299-306). An illustrated description of Sydney, Cape Breton.

WILSON, CLIFFORD P. *Tadoussac, the company and the king's posts* (Beaver, outfit 266, no. 1, June, 1935, 8-12, 63, 66). The story of Tadoussac from the earliest fur-trading days to the present.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BREITHAUP, W. H. *Saengerfest of 1875* (Twenty-second annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1934, 136-7). A note on the festival of 1875 in Berlin, Ontario.

BRICKER, I. C. *The history of Waterloo Township up to 1825* (Twenty-second annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1934, 81-122). Mr. Bricker has made an exhaustive research of records of documents, both in Canadian and Pennsylvanian official repositories, concerning the first settlers who came to what is now Waterloo Township. This article contains valuable and detailed information about early land transactions in the township.

The trek of the Pennsylvanians to Canada in the year 1805 (Twenty-second annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1934, 123-31). A detailed description of the route followed by the pioneers of Waterloo County in their trek from lower Pennsylvania to Beasley's tract in 1805.

BYERLY, A. E. *Preston in 1866* (Twenty-first annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1933, 53-6). An account of Preston written in 1866 by a gentleman living in Guelph.

MACDONALD, THOREAU. *A year on the farm, or the woodchuck's almanac*. Drawings by THOREAU MACDONALD. Toronto: The Woodchuck Press. 1934. 14 drawings. (75c.) Reviewed on page 330.

PANABAKER, D. N. *Extending our frontiers in Canada West: An example of self reliance and enterprise 80 years ago* (Twenty-second annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1934, 132-5). An instance of Mennonite pioneering enterprise in the new section of country opened up between 1850 and 1860 on the shores of Lake Huron.

Glimpses of the industrial activities of Waterloo County about fifty years ago (Twenty-first annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1933, 32-44). Data concerning the industries in the various centres of the county as found in *Armstrong and Co's. gazetteer and directory for Waterloo County for 1878*.

Pioneer woollen mills in Preston, Hespeler and vicinity, Waterloo County—Ontario, and their connection with later textile industries (Twenty-first annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1933, 45-52). Reprinted from the *Canadian textile journal*.

SCHANTZ, ORPHEUS MOYER. *Hawkesville, a pioneer village of Waterloo County* (Twenty-second annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1934, 138-46).

UTTLEY, W. V. *Woolwich Township—its early settlement* (Twenty-first annual report of the Waterloo Historical Society, 1933, 10-32). Valuable notes on the early Mennonite and other settlers in one of the northern divisions of Waterloo County.

[WATERLOO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Twenty-first and twenty-second annual reports, 1933 and 1934*. Kitchener, Ont.: Published by the society. 1935. Pp. 154. An excellent report, the papers in which are listed separately in this bibliography.

WINTER, FRITZ G. M. *Old forts in Upper Canada*. (Bulletin no. 146, School of Engineering Research, School of Architecture, University of Toronto.) Written under the direction of Professor E. R. ARTHUR. [Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1935.] Pp. 28. This attractive and admirably illustrated brochure would have been much more valuable if the author had made use of the great mass of original material on the subject, available in the map room of the Public Archives at Ottawa. As it is, he has relied for his historical information on very secondary sources, which not infrequently have led him into error. That he has made no very deep investigation of the science of fortification appears in (for example) his acceptance of the national parks department's truly astonishing designation of the big caponier that flanks the ditch of Fort Wellington as a "rally post, or listening post"! The choice of forts has been rather arbitrary, thus, the existing defences of Kingston, other than Fort Henry, are completely slighted. (C. P. STACEY).

(4) The Prairie Provinces

LEPPARD, HENRY M. *The settlement of the Peace River country* (Geographical review, XXV (1), Jan., 1935, 62-78). Printed with figures, tables, and photographs.

MOEHLMAN, ARTHUR HENRY. *The Red River of the north* (Geographical review, XXV (1), Jan., 1935, 79-91). A survey of the progress of settlement in the Red River Valley.

The Prairie Provinces in their relation to the national economy of Canada: A statistical study of their social and economic condition in the twentieth century. Published by authority of the Hon. R. B. Hanson, minister of trade and commerce. Ottawa: Dominion bureau of statistics. 1934. Pp. 153 (planographed). The purpose of this study is to assemble the more important social and economic statistics relating to the Prairie Provinces from early times to the present, to show them in their proper relationship to similar statistics for Canada as a whole, and to add certain relevant data of an interpretative and historical nature. It provides, therefore, basic statistical data for further studies of social and economic conditions in these provinces, particularly with regard to population, production, industry, and trade, agriculture, natural resources, wealth and income, prices and the cost of living, financial relations with the dominion, and education.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

British Columbia's claim for readjustment of terms of union presented by Hon. T. D. Pattullo, premier of British Columbia, Hon. G. McG. Sloan, K.C., attorney-general, Hon. John Hart, minister of finance. Pp. 32. A memorandum respecting the claims of British Columbia for better terms, 1934, including a short review of the historical events leading to terms of union and the conditions prevailing at that time and a summary of previous attempts to secure better terms.

CAREY, CHARLES H. *A general history of Oregon, prior to 1861.* Vol. I. Portland: Metropolitan Press. 1935. Pp. 416. (\$3.50). The original edition of this work, published in 1922, was reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IV, 1923, 65. The new edition has been brought up to date and much new material has been added. The second volume is to be published in the autumn.

SETON, ALFRED. *Life on the Oregon* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVI (2), June, 1935, 187-204). Reprinted from the *American monthly magazine*, May and July, 1835, with introduction and notes by FRED S. PERRINE.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

BANKSON, RUSSELL A. *The Klondike nugget.* Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1935. Pp. 349. (\$2.50). To be reviewed later.

EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *Canada's northernmost island* (Canadian geographical journal, X (6), June, 1935, 289-97). An illustrated description of Ellesmere Island.

LEICHTNER, GEORG. *Petulak, der Eskimo, ein Lebenskampf in der Arktis.* Leipzig: A. H. Payne. 1933. Pp. 193. (2.50m.)

OGILVIE, NOEL J. *The coast line and islands of Hudson Bay* (Beaver, outfit 266, no. 1, June, 1935, 21-3, 66). A description of the survey work done by the geodetic survey of Canada.

PAGE, ELIZABETH. *Wild horses and gold: From Wyoming to the Yukon.* Illustrated by PAUL BROWN. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1932. Pp. xiii, 362. (\$3.00). To be reviewed later.

SEVAREID, ARNOLD E. *Canoeing with the Cree.* New York: The Macmillan Company. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1935. Pp. xii, 201. (\$1.75). A tale for children of a journey by two boys by canoe from Minnesota to Hudson Bay.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Naskapi: The savage hunters of the Labrador Peninsula*. Norman, Okl.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1935. Pp. 248. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

STEELE, HARWOOD and KETCHUM, W. Q. *Lone sleuth of the Arctic* (Canadian magazine, LXXXIV (1), July, 1935, 8-9, 32). Concerns the mystery of the fate of Sir John Franklin's expedition and the contribution of Major L. T. Burwash towards the solving of it.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *An Eskimo discovery of an island north of Alaska* (Geographical review, XXIV (1), Jan., 1934, 104-14). A résumé of explorations in the vicinity of Takpuk's Island, and a discussion of its discovery.

WILLOUGHBY, BARRETT. *Alaskans all*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1933. Pp. 224. To be reviewed later.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

BISS, IRENE MARY. *The industrial revolution in Canada*. (Machine age series, 3.) Toronto: Social Service Council of Canada. 1933. Pp. 16. (10c.)

CHITTENDEN, HIRAM MARTIN. *The American fur trade of the far west*. With introduction and notes by STALLO VINTON and a sketch of the author by Dr. EDMOND S. MEANY. 2 vols. New York: Press of the Pioneers. 1935. (\$15.00) This new and limited edition is an exact reprint of the original. The editor has in his notes and introduction made additions and corrections both to the text and to Chittenden's notes. A bibliography lists the authorities that have been used. Mr. Vinton also adds a chapter on the American fur-trade of the south-west.

DUPIN, PIERRE. *Anciens chantiers du St-Maurice*. (Pages trifluviennes, série B, no. 7.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Éditions du Bien Public. 1935. Pp. 131.

ELLS, MARGARET. *The Dartmouth whalers* (Dalhousie review, XV (1), April, 1935, 85-95). The story of the rise and fall of the Dartmouth (N.S.) whale fishery in the 1780's.

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- MORGAN, WILLIAM THOMAS. *A bibliography of British history (1700-1715): With special reference to the reign of Queen Anne*. Vol. I: 1700-1707. [Indiana University studies, nos. 94 and 95.] Bloomington, Ind.: 1934. Pp. xvii, 524. The author has made no attempt to provide a bibliography for the British Empire of the period, but incidental attention has been paid to the West Indies and the other American colonies. Volume I contains titles of bibliographical aids for British history in the eighteenth century; and of the pamphlets and memoirs published from 1700 to 1707. Each year composes a separate chapter, prefaced by a brief historical synopsis of the events with which the pamphlets and memoirs deal. The completed work, which will include autobiographies, diaries, journals, periodical materials, dramatic works, secondary works, unpublished manuscripts, and an index, will be of inestimable value to students of the reign of Queen Anne.
- NANTEL, MARÉCHAL. *Listes des éditions du code civil, du code de procédure civile et du code municipal de la province de Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (3), mars, 1935, 179-86).
- NUTE, GRACE LEE and ACKERMANN, GERTRUDE W. (comps.). *Guide to the personal papers in the manuscript collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*. Saint Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 1935. Pp. x, 146. (\$1.25) This guide (consisting of 455 numbered entries with detailed descriptions of each entry) is intended to be the first of a series that ultimately will constitute a general report on the society's collections as a whole and will also embrace historical manuscripts collected by local societies, other institutions, and private individuals throughout the state. Many of the manuscripts reported upon in brief and compact summaries touch upon subjects which are closely related to the history of Canada, i.e., the native Sioux and Chippewa, the fur-trade, missions, pioneer life and frontier conditions, immigration, etc. We note in particular the description of a diary, in the *Aiton papers*, of a journey from Scotland to Canada in 1835; the *Bailey papers*, which give details of fur-trading life and a trip to the Red River settlement in 1821; the *Franchère, Larpenteur*, and *Sibley papers*, containing information about the fur-trade; the *Houllon papers*, a letter in which gives the reaction of the Maine frontier to the War of 1812; the *Nelson papers*, with material concerning the reciprocity tariff treaty with Canada, 1911-2; the *Taliaferro papers* which contain material on the War of 1812, the fur-trade, the Selkirk colony, the Indians, etc.;

and the *Taylor papers* which deal with the Canadian North-west, reciprocal relations of trade and transportation between the United States and Canada, annexation, the Red River Rebellion, the Fenian Raids, and the Hudson's Bay Company.

OVERMAN, WILLIAM D. (comp.). *Index to materials for the study of Ohio history* (Ohio State archaeological and historical quarterly, XLIV (1), Jan., 1935, 138-55). Not only a complete revision of the original *Bulletin of source material for the study of American history*, as found in the publications of the society, covering volumes 1-26 inclusive, published by the society in 1918, but an index to the complete series of publications of the society and the *Quarterly* to date. Many of the items listed touch on Canadian history.

PARISH, JOHN C. *California books and manuscripts in the Huntington library* (Huntington library bulletin, April, 1935).

TALMAN, J. J. *The Ontario archives* (Ontario library review, XIX (2), May, 1935, 64-6). An introduction to the work, functions, and scope of the Ontario archives.

IX. ART AND LITERATURE

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Cornelius Krieghoff: Pioneer painter of North America*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. [x] 152. (\$7.50) Reviewed on page 329.

— *Krieghoff découvre le Canada* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XVIII, section 1, mai, 1934, 111-8). An outline of the life and art of Krieghoff, with reproductions of several of his pictures.

— *Native Quebec art* (Saturday night, Jan. 12, 1935, 16). An investigation of the beginnings of craftsmanship in New France.

CHARBONNEAU, JEAN. *L'école littéraire de Montréal: Ses origines, ses animateurs, ses influences*. Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. Pp. 320. To be reviewed later.

CHARTIER, ÉMILE. *La vie de l'esprit au Canada français, 4e étude—L'histoire et l'idée nationale (1830-1925)* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XVIII, section 1, mai, 1934, 97-109). A study and comparison of the works of F.-X. Garneau, the Hon. Thomas Chapais, and the Abbé Lionel Groulx.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Un régionaliste anglais de Québec, Robert Sellar* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (3), mars, 1935, 172-4). An account of the writings of a pioneer in the field of regional history in Canada—Robert Sellar (1841-1919) of Huntingdon, P.Q.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Violons et luthiers* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (4), avril, 1935, 213-7). A note on musicians and violins and their makers in Canada.

MORISSET, GÉRARD. *La collection Desjardins* (Canada français, 1935, XXII (7), mars, 620-5; (8), avril, 734-46; (9), mai, 855-68). Describes the Desjardins collection at the Hotel-Dieu and the Hôpital-Général; the church of Sillery; and the Couvent des Ursulines at Quebec.

PIERCE, LORNE ALBERT. *Three Fredericton poets, writers of the University of New Brunswick and the new dominion: Alumni oration, Encænna, May 19, 1933*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. 30. An appreciation of the poetry of Charles G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, and Francis Sherman.

ROBERTS, CHARLES G. D. *Presidential address—Francis Sherman* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, XXVIII, section 2, May, 1934, 1-9). Reminiscences of Francis Sherman and an appreciation of certain of his poems.

TIROL, M. *Contes canadiens et tradition française* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 21ème année, no. 81, mars, 1935, 55-64). A study of the characteristics, background, and sources of French-Canadian popular stories.

X. CANADA'S PART IN THE GREAT WAR

(Contributed by Professor W. B. Kerr in continuation of his bibliographies published in this journal in December, 1933, and June, 1934.)

1. Publications during the War

(i) Memoirs

CALLAN, J. J. *With guns and wagons*. London: S.P.C.K. 1918. A description of a typical day's work and of the problems of a *padre*, enlivened by breezy conversation. The reference is to the 8th brigade, C.F.A., and the 18th brigade, R.F.A., with both of which Mr. Callan served.

CARNOCHAN, J. *An appreciation of Lt. W. J. Wright, M.A.* (Niagara Historical Society publications, XXXI, 14-26). A eulogy with extensive quotations from Mr. Wright's letters. Having arrived in France in October, 1916, this officer served with infantry and trench mortars until his death at Hill 70.

GRANT, R. *S.O.S., Stand to!* New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. Mr. Grant served with headquarters of the first brigade, C.F.A., chiefly as a signaller from March, 1915. He describes with vividness his experiences of that month and at Second Ypres; and he excels in the narrative of the quiet summer of 1915 when interest centred on the acquisition by fair means or foul of such commodities as honey or rum. After that year the story runs rather thin. The author relates that he went over the top at Courcellette and had the experience, unusual for a signaller, of shooting a German. He continued on service until just before Vimy, then went to Canada on furlough. Certain inaccuracies and imaginative touches interfere with the value of this memoir.

MANION, R. J. *A surgeon in arms*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. (Listed in CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1934, 183, but not described.) Hardly a memoir so much as a description for the benefit of civilians of life at the front in 1917 as it came within the purview of a battalion medical officer. Dr. Manion was for a time M.O. of the 21st battalion. He commences with an account of the trenches and of the soldier's routine; uses the conversation of Kelly his batman to warn Canadians not to think too highly of themselves; discusses the language of the line without excessive practical illustration; tells of experiences with gas, reliefs, dugouts, and the sick parade. He throws in chapters on such unrelated subjects as the courage of the soldiers, aerial combat, Paris in war-time, and a château hospital. The suppression of the personal element detracts somewhat from the value of the descriptions.

(ii) Unit Journals

160th battalion. *Bruce in khaki*. Seven issues printed at Godalming, Surrey, in 1917-8.

Military hospitals commission. *M.H.C. bulletin*. Ottawa. Three issues in 1916; one in November, 1917, under the title *Reconstruction*; a few in 1919 under the title *Back to mufti*.

2. Publications after the War

(i) Memoirs

[ANON.] *Canadian memories of October, 1914* (Our empire, 1926, no. 7).

The Canadians' fight for the guns, April 22nd, 1915 (Ypres times, April, 1929). Reminiscences of the charge of the 10th and 16th battalions at midnight, April 22-3, 1915. The author gives his identification number as 17092.

BAGSHAW, Mrs. M. E. *Maple leaves in England*. By "the little mother". Manchester: Saunders and Company. 1934. Mrs. Bagshaw acted as hostess and substitute mother to 125 Canadian soldiers from 1915 to 1919. She played a difficult rôle with ability and tact, endeavouring to guide her protégés in the way their mothers would have them go. This booklet contains the story of her efforts and experiences. She found with some surprise that "most of the Canadians were quite domesticated". It is a pleasure to know that she was repaid with a constant affection and esteem.

BAIRD, W. J. *Thiepval* (Canadian defence quarterly, Oct., 1934). A record of a recent visit with some reminiscences.

CLINT, M. B. *Our bit: Memories of war service by a Canadian nursing sister*. Montreal: Barwick Ltd. 1934. Miss Clint was accepted as a nurse in the C.A.M.C. with the first contingent. She went speedily to France and served in Etaples with no. 2 Canadian stationary hospital arriving in time to share the care of the wounded from First Ypres. Transferred to St. Nazaire, she came under the direction of French medical officers whose theories of diet and ventilation differed widely from those held by Canadians. The summer of 1915 she spent in Lemnos with no. 1 stationary. She describes the appalling carelessness of the medical authorities in that island with an indignation still warm after nineteen years. From Lemnos she returned, via Cairo, to England in mid-1916, a casualty herself. She spent 1917 at Brixton and was back in France with no. 3 general for the summer of 1918 and the bombings of that year. The account of her work runs thin after Lemnos; but she records the currents of opinion among the troops (British, Australian, New Zealand) and the varying moods of the English nation with great freshness and vividness. From time to time she takes flings at latter-day misconceptions concerning the war. Her memoir is of the more value in that the nursing service has been somewhat overlooked in Canadian war literature.

CREED, CATHERINE. *Whose debtors we are* (Niagara Historical Society publications, XXXIV, 1922). Short sketches of the lives and services of various schoolboys of Niagara who enlisted. There is also a short memoir by Nursing Sister Flora Wylie. A longer one gives the experiences of the Rev. Captain C. K. Masters who was chaplain to the 58th battalion in the summer of 1916. The story covers the last days in the Salient, Sanctuary Wood, the march to the Somme, and the affair of Regina Trench where Captain Masters was wounded.

DRAYCOT, W. L. M. *A fortnight with the boys in the trenches* (Gold stripe, I). The P.P.'s first entry into the trenches in Flanders.

EDWARDS, F. B. *Eight days' leave* (Gold stripe, II).

EVANS, J. *Sixteen months a war prisoner* (*World's war events*, book II, chap. vii, New York, P. F. Collier and Son, 1921).

HERALD, W. *The Somme trenches* (Gold stripe, I).

A Canadian battalion commander (Lt.-Col. J. A. Clark) (Gold stripe II).

MATHEWS, J. S. *The story of Regina Trench* (Gold stripe, II).

MCPHERSON, GRACE E. *With the motor ambulance* (Gold stripe, II).

MERRY, D. B. *My escape from a German prison* (Gold stripe, I).

"AN OBSERVER". *Caught napping* (Gold stripe, II).

PHILLIPS, F. *Literary ghosts of the trenches* (Gold stripe, I).

TIBBOTT, A. N. *A story of St. Julien* (Gold stripe, I).

WARDEN, Lt.-Col. *The 16th battalion at Second Ypres* (Gold stripe, I).

[WRIGHT, C. M.] *The diary of C. M. Wright, 58th batt[ery], 14th brigade, France, no. 1260428* (Ontario Historical Society papers and records, XXIII, 1926, chap. xxix, 511-22). A record of August, 1918, concerning the writer's experiences at Amiens and Arras. Since the 58th was only lightly engaged, the author has little to tell beyond the preparations for, and the aftermath of, the Battle of Amiens as these came within his view. The impressions are those of a recruit. Mr. Wright was killed in the advance from Arras at the end of the month.

(ii) Unit Histories

Historical records of the queen's own Cameron highlanders. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1931. Vol. IV of this series has a sketch of the services of the 43rd battalion, C.E.F.

The story of the sixty-sixth, C.F.A. Edinburgh: Turnbull and Spears. 1919. For this booklet several members of the rank and file of the battery collaborated, each being responsible for a chapter. The 66th was a Montreal unit which reached the front as relic of the "orphan fifth" in August, 1917, missed Passchendaele, and found its service almost confined to 1918. The authors present a careful record of the day-to-day experiences of their battery which was perhaps fortunate in having to endure no searching tests.

WAUCHOPE, A. G. *A history of the black watch in the Great War.* London: The Medici Society. 1926. Vol. II has a chapter on the royal highlanders of Canada.

JAMES, F. T. and JOHNSTON, T. *Bruce in khaki: A history of the 160th overseas Bruce battalion and complete nominal roll of all men.* Chesley, Bruce. 1934. This booklet contains a sketch of the enlistment of the battalion in 1916 and an account of its training in Canada and England until the disbandment to reserves in February, 1918. Short notices follow of each man's services, present occupation, and address. A few reminiscences and quotations from the unit journal of war-time are given in conclusion.

(iii) Operations

[ANON.] *The two sides of the wood: The attack by Strathcona's dragoons on the 2nd battalion, 101st grenadiers on the 30th March, 1918* (R. Freiherr von Falkenstein in *Militär Wochenblatt*, Feb. 11, 1927; translated in *Cavalry journal* (British), 1927, 606-14). A good description of this encounter from the German point of view; the author ascribes the reverse to the inexperience of the young German troops. He pays tribute to the resolution of the Canadians, relating how not one of a certain group was taken prisoner, each having reserved a bullet for himself. The correct title of the unit is Lord Strathcona's Horse.

CANADIAN RECORD OFFICER. *The Canadians at Ypres* (*World's war events*, book I, chap. xiv).

CURRIE, Sir A. W. *Canada's battle in 1915* (*Ypres times*, 1923, no. 8).

DUGUID, A. F. *The significance of Vimy* (*Canadian defence quarterly*, July, 1935). A sketch, chiefly of the preparations for the battle. An address before the Kiwanis Club, Ottawa, April 5, 1935.

SWINTON, E. D. *Gas: Second battle of Ypres* (*World's war events*, book I, chap. xiii).

(iv) Periodicals

AMPUTATIONS CLUB OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. *The gold stripe: A tribute to the B.C. men who have been killed, crippled and wounded in the Great War.* Vols. I and II. Vancouver: The club at the Dominion Building. 1919.

46TH BATTALION ASSOCIATION. *Year books 1931-4.* Moose Jaw. The 1931 volume reproduces the operation order for November 1, 1918. That of 1934 includes a description of a small raid, September 8, 1916, near Wyttschaete in which the first officer of the unit was killed.

